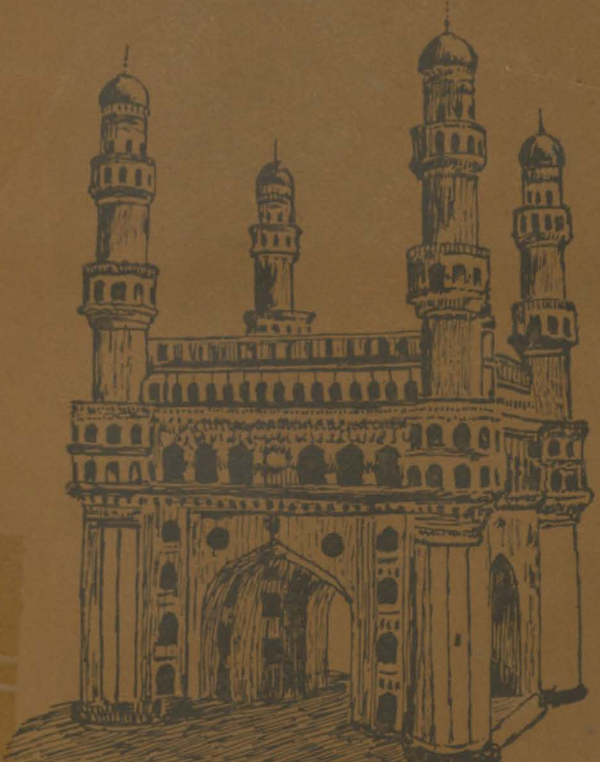
Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh

Founder of Haidarabad



H. K. Sherwani

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Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh

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MUḤAMMAD-QULĪ QUṬB SHĀH

FOUNDER OF HAIDARABAD

H. K. SHERWANI

ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE

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To the Memory of

BĀBĀ-E URDŪ DR. 'ABDU'L - ḤAQ

who first introduced Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's Poetry as a Milestone in the History of Urdu Literature

PREFACE

It was in January 1922, that the late Dr. 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq wrote a searching article on the poetry of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh as gleaned from his *Kullīyāt* or Collected Poems, in the Quarterly magazine, *Urdu*, with a short historical introduction by the late Dr. Yazdani. Eighteen years later, in 1940, the late Dr. Zor edited and published the *Kullīyāt* with a long Introduction in Urdu, of about four hundred rather sparsely printed pages, which was also separately printed under the title of *Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah*. Being a sort of editorial preface to the *Kullīyāt*, it was more a literary than a historical work. Nine years ago, in 1958, Dr. Zor instituted an annual celebration of "Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh Day" to be held in February every year, and this "Day" has made the name of the founder of Haidarabad known to the general public as nothing else would have done. It is a good thing that the annual celebration of the "Day" has continued under the auspices of the Idārā Adabiyāt-i Urdu, even after Dr. Zor's lamented death in 1962.

Much fresh data has been unearthed since the *Kullīyāt* and the *Introduction* were published. While the edition of the *Kullīyāt* proper is a unique achievement of Dr. Zor it is necessary that the lacunae in the *Introduction* be filled and the *faux pas* corrected. I have been working on the history of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty for many years, and when I came to the reign of the Founder of Haidarabad, I felt that the history of his reign had to be rewritten in the light of recent findings.

When my papers on the history of the dynasty began to be published in learned magazines, I made it a point to send copies of their off-prints to Dr. Zor. The last time I met him at Haidarabad—I believe it was in July or August 1962—during our conversation he rather abruptly asked me how many pages were covered by my study of Muḥammad-Qulī's reign; I replied that closely printed pages in the form of papers published in learned journals came to about 141. He thereupon remarked, "Look here, Sherwani Sahib, why wait for your completion of Quṭbshāhī history ? Why not have the Life of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh published separately at once ? " He went back to Kashmir never

to return. When I had the occasion to visit Srinagar in October 1962 in connection with some extension lectures at the University, Dr. Zor was no more and I could only go to his grave to pray for the repose of his soul; but his suggestion had already taken root in my mind.

The life history of the Sulṭan is now being presented to the learned public in the form of a separate monograph, and I am indebted to Asia Publishing House for having made it possible. As a great poet in Dakhni, as a patron of both Telugu and Persian, and finally as the planner and founder of Haidarabad, Muḥammad-Qulī has created a niche for himself in the history of the country. My only hope is that this study will create an interest in the history of the Deccan among the generality of the historians, many of whom are apt to regard the so-called provincial dynasties as not worth a deep study. They forget that it was these dynasties which were the promoters of the various facets of culture which went to form the composite culture of India.

I am thankful to the editors of the *Journal of Indian History*, the *Medieval India Quarterly* and the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* for allowing me to utilise the papers which appeared in these magazines. These papers have been completely overhauled, much new material added and many parts entirely rewritten in order to form an integrated history of the period.

H. K. S.

CONTENTS

APPENDIXES

(*A section of Art Plates appears between pages* 32 *&* 33)

ABBREVIATIONS

A. N.	Abu'l Fazl: *Akbarnamah*, Lucknow edition, 1883.
Aravidu	Father Heras: *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara.*
Asafiyah	Asafiyah State Library, Haidarabad, now the State Central Library, Andhra Pradesh.
Bahmanis	H. K. Sherwani: *The Bahmanis of the Deccan.*
Basatin	Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi: *Basatinu's-Salatin.*
Bernier	Bernier: *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Oxford University Press Edition, 1914.
Briggs	Briggs: *Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India.*
Burhan	Syed 'Ali Tabataba: *Burhan-i Ma'asir.*
B. & W.	Bilgrami and Wilmott: *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions.*
E. & W.	Elliot and Dowson: *History of India as written by her own Historians.*
E. I.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
E. I. M.	*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.*
Ethe	Ethe: *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library.*
Fer.	Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah: *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, also called *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, Lucknow Edition, 1884.
Gribble	Gribble: *History of Deccan.*
Hadiqa	Mirza Nizamu'd-Din Ahmad Sa'idi: *Hadiqatu's-Salatin*, Haidarabad Edition, 1961.
Hayat	Zor: *Hayat Mir Mu'min.*
I. C.	*Islamic Culture Quarterly*, Haidarabad.
Ivanow	Ivanow: *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
J. H. A. S.	*Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society.*
J. I. H.	*Journal of Indian History.*
J. P. H. S.	*Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.*
Kulliyat	*Kulliyat-i Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, Hyderabad.
Landmarks	Bilgrami: *Landmarks of the Deccan.*
Mahnamah	Ghulam Husain Khan: *Mahnamah*, MSS., Salar Jang Library, Tarikh, 364.
Munt.	Khafi Khan: *Muntakhabu'l-Lubab.*
N. & V.	Nilkanta Sastri and Venkata Ramnayya: *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History.*
Q. S.	*Tarikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah*, MSS., Asafiyah, 401.
R. H. A. D.	*Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department.*
Rieu	Rieu: *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum.*

S. I. I.	South Indian Inscriptions.
Sources	Krishnaswami Aiyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History.*
Sprenger	Sprenger: *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindu'sta'ny Manuscripts in the Library of the Kings of Oudh.*
Tadh.	Rafi'ud-Din Shirazi: *Tadhkiratu'l-Muluk*, MSS., Asafiyah, Tarikh Farsi, 1081.
T. Q.	*Tawarikh Qutb Shah*, MSS., British Museum, Ethe, 1486.
Velug.	*Velugotivarivamsavali*, edited by Dr. Venkata Ramnayya.
Zafarah	Girdharilal Ahqar: *Tarikh Zafarah.*

Part I

CULTURAL ASPECTS

Chapter 1

THE BACKGROUND

(*Mainly Historical*)

THE STATE of Medieval Tilang (such is the name given to it by our chroniclers), with its capital, first at the rock-citadel of Golkonda, and then at the newly established city of Haidarabad, forms a connecting link between the earlier Kingdom of the Bahmanīs of which it was an offshoot, and the later Asafjāhī dominions which replaced it.[1] It was ruled by the members of the Qutbshāhī dynasty, the descendants of Sultān-Qulī Quṭbul'-Mulk, ṭarafdār or Governor of the region under the Bahmanīs. The State was remarkable in a number of ways. While the Bahmanīs had extended their sway all over the Deccan tableland, from sea to sea, the new State strived from the very beginning to confine its territories to the area in which the Telugu language was spoken, and in fact, the reign of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah (1626-72) saw the materialisation of this objective. The Quṭbshāhī rulers were great builders and great patrons of learning, and some of them, like Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah, were themselves poets and *littérateurs*. The walled city of Golkonda became the rendezvous of merchants, soldiers, men of the world and of religion and, its population increased to such an extent that the further expansion of the city was found necessary. After experimenting on an extension of the city westward, Muḥammad-Qulī's father Ibrāhīm constructed a fine bridge over the Mūsī (which has braved all the storms and floods of this

[1] This chapter is more or less a gist of the following published articles and papers of the author:

(*i*) *Three problems concerning Sultan-Quli, the founder of the Medieval State of Tilang*, Jadunath Sarkar Memorial Volume, II, 1958; (*ii*) 'Sultan Quli, the first Ruler of Medieval Tilang,' Part I, *J. I. H.*, December, 1955; (*iii*) Ibid., Part II, *J. I. H.*, April, 1956; (*iv*) Ibid., Part II, *J. I. H.*, August, 1956; (*v*) 'The medieval State of Tilang, a Period of Uncertainty', *J. I. H.*, April, 1957; (*vi*) 'Cultural and Administrative set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah', Part I, *I. C.*, April, 1957; (*vii*) Ibid., Part II, *I. C.*, July, 1957; (*viii*) 'Tilangana under Ibrahim Qutb Shah', Part I, Section 1, *J. I. H.*, August, 1957; (*ix*) Ibid., Part I, Section 2, *J. I. H.*, December 1957; (*x*) Ibid., Part II, *J. I. H.*, April, 1958.

tricky river to this day), as a pointer to city planners to look to the east for relief. At last the centre-piece of the new city was built in 1592 by his son and successor in the shape of the Chārmīnār. A large part of the population was transferred to the new capital, Haidarabad. The Quṭbshāhī dynasty ruled till 1687 when Tilang-Andhra was annexed to the vast Empire of Aurangzēb 'Ālamgīr, and the last scion of the dynasty, Abu'l-Hasan, surnamed Tānā Shah, was sent a prisoner to Daulatābād.[2]

Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk

Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh was a descendant in the fourth degree of the founder of the Qutbshāhī dynasty and also the State of Tilang, Sultān-Qulī Qutbu'l-Mulk, surnamed *Baṛe Malik* or the 'Great Lord.' Sultān-Qulī's paternal home was Hamadān in Iran. He was a descendant in the fifth degree of Qarā Muḥammad, the chief of the Turkmān tribe of Qarā Qūvinlū or 'the Black Sheep'. This tribe was at perennial war with its sister tribe, the Āq Quvinlū or 'the White Sheep'. Qarā Muḥammad ruled the large regions of Adharbaijān, Hamadan, Isfahān and Qazvīn, and one of his descendants, Qarā Yūsuf managed to annex Fars, Kirmān and Khurāsān to his dominion and moved his capital from Tabrīz to Hirāt some time about 1420.[3]

But this security and prosperity were shortlived. Hasan Bēg, the amīr of Āq Quvinlū, and after his son and successor Ya'qūb, were so harsh upon the Qarā Quvinlū that many members of the

2 "Tilang-Andhra": While originally the State was confined to Tilangana, from the very beginning its rulers' ambition was to bring under one sceptre, the whole area populated by Telugu speaking people and, as indicated, the State came to cover practically the whole of that region and a little more. As its boundaries coincided more or less with the whole of the present day Andhra Pradesh, I have taken the liberty to give the fully developed Medieval State the name of Tilang-Andhra.

3 Genealogical Table of the Qutbshahi Dynasty up to Sultan Quli:

Pir-Quli
- Uwais-Quli
  - Sultan-Quli
- Allah-Quli

latter tribe, including Allāh-Qulī and his nephew Sultān-Qulī, had to leave their country. These two decided to come to India to seek their fortune and finally found their way to the capital of the Bahmanīs, Muḥammadābād-Bīdar, where Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī was then reigning. Sultān-Qulī was then in the prime of his youth, and the country pleased him so much that when his uncle asked him to return home, he preferred to stay on in the Deccan.

On Muḥammad Shah's death, just one lunar year after Maḥmūd Gāwān's murder, his son Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd succeeded him. Sultān-Qulī, who had been introduced to the court along with his uncle, rose in prestige and power, and soon the title of 'Khawās Khān' was conferred upon him. In December, 1487 he took an active part in saving the Sultān from mortal danger. Five years later it was he who was sent to quell the rebellion of Bahādur Gīlāni, the thānēdār of Goa. He defeated Bahādur in the decisive battle of Panhāla in November 1494, and thus earned the title of 'Qutbu'l-Mulk' from the King. He was now appointed tarafdār of the province of Tilang and the Fort of Golkonda was added to his already extensive jāgīrs.

The Bahmanī Kingdom was now tottering towards its fall, and not only the southern empire of Vijayanagar but the remaining tarafdārs of the Bahmanī Kingdom also were now contending for supremacy in the Deccan. Qutbu'l-Mulk had to face the strong man of the Deccan, Krishna Deva Rāya and after him his son Achyūta Rāya of Vijayanagar, Yūsuf 'Ādil of Bijapur, Burhān of Aḥmadnagar, the Barīdīs of Bīdar and the 'Imādshāhīs of Berar as well as major rebels like Sītāpatī, *alias* Shitāb Khṇn of Warangal. But Sultān-Qulī's diplomacy, tact and strategy won through, and he was able to extend his eastern frontier from Rajahmundry in the north to Konḍavīḍu in the south.

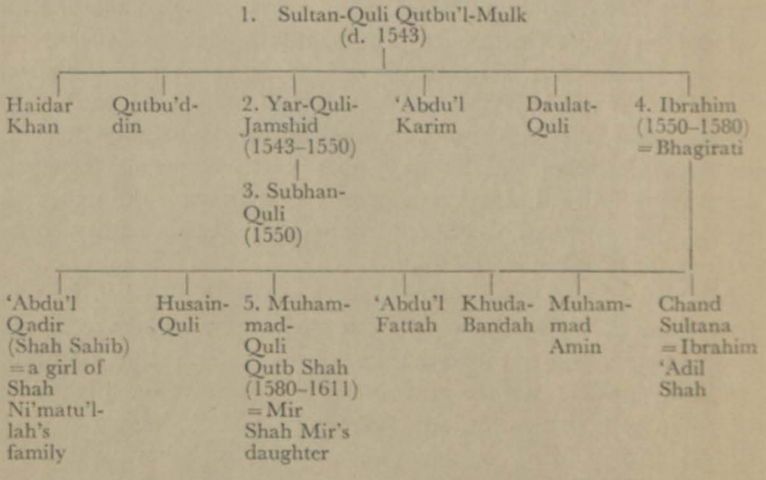
Sultān-Qulī was assassinated on August 3, 1543 when he was more than ninety as the result of a conspiracy. There is ample evidence on record to prove that he never proclaimed his kingship, and the inscription on his grave-stone is conclusive on this point; for, there he is named 'Sultān-Qulī Qutbu'l-Mulk, known as Baṛē Malik.' Many historians have been wrong in believing that he was a 'Sultān' and his real name was only 'Qulī'. But the word 'Sultān' was only a part of his name which meant 'Servant of

the Sulṭān' in much the same way as the name of his uncle Allāh-Qulī meant 'the Servant of Allāh' and the name of his grandson, Muḥammad-Qulī meant 'the Servant of Muḥammad'.[4]

Yār-Qulī Jamshīd

Jamshīd's accession was by no means peaceful. Some of our authorities are of the view that Jamshīd was Sulṭān-Qulī's eldest son, while others put him down as the third son of his father.[5] But as there was much cruelty and bloodshed attendant upon his accession, the balance seems to tilt against his being the eldest. Jamshīd was further suspected of having been a party to the conspiracy which brought about his father's murder, and when he became the ruler of the State there was a large group at his court who would rather have had one of his brothers on the *gaddī*. He therefore began his reign by trying to eliminate his brothers. The youngest, Ibrāhīm, who was only 14, did not respond to the summons to attend the court and he first fled to Bīdar and then to Vijayanagar, where he became the guest of the Rāya for seven years. It is

[4] Genealogical Table showing the relationship between Sultan-Quli and Muhammad-Quli:



[5] Thus, *Q. S.*, p. 105, says that Jamshid was the third son of his father, while *Bur.*, p. 314, says that he was the eldest.

significant that it was only Burhān Nizām Shah of Ahmadnagar who sent his envoy to congratulate Jamshīd on his accession, and it was Burhān again who offered Jamshīd a crown and a royal umbrella and thus recognise him as king. Jamshīd, however, declined the honour by saying that he had no desire for the crown or the royal umbrella as he never aspired to royalty and would not do so as long as he lived.[6]

There were constant quarrels between Jamshīd and 'Ali Barīd which were partly caused by the umbrage given by 'Ali to Ibrāhīm at Bidar. These quarrels led to actual war in which Jamshīd got the upper hand and 'Ali had to cede the tract round the great fort at Kaulās which was left in the charge of Jagadēva Rao as administrator. It is rather remarkable that while Jamshīd began his reign almost friendless, he made himself so powerful in the Deccan that when Burhān and Isma'il 'Ādil fell out on the question of the possession of the oft-contested Sholapur, both of them sent messages to Jamshīd for help. 'Alī Barīd, who had himself been trapped at Sholapur sent a secret letter to Jamshīd asking his forgiveness for his past misdeeds and requesting him to use his good offices to have him reinstalled at Bidar. A short time after this, Jamshīd became afflicted with cancer and died on January 22, 1550.

While on the political side Jamshīd had made himself strong enough for his influence to be reckoned with, on the literary side he has left us some fairly good compositions in Persian verse, and has thus shown the way his successors to tow the line of literary patronage.

Subḥān-Qulī

With the removal of Jamshīd's strong hand, the state of Tilang was left in a chaotic condition, especially as his son Subḥān was a mere infant. From the very beginning there arose rivalry between

[6] *T. Q.*, fol. 27 a. This clearly shows that, like his father, Jamshid never "declared his independence". In this connection there are two other matters worth noting: (*i*) there is no epitaph on Jamshid's grave, and (*ii*) except for the very doubtful coins in the Haidarabad Museum on which Jamshid's name is spelt *Janbshid*, (for which see Abdul Wali Khan, *Qutub Shahi Coins in the Andhra Pradesh State Museum*, p. 1), no coin of Jamshid is found anywhere else.

Mustafā Khān and 'Ainu'l-Mulk for the office of the Peshwa or Chief Minister. There was also the influential Jagadēva Rao, the chief of the Nāikwāṛis, who wanted to put Jamshīd's brother Daulat-Qulī on the throne, while Daulat himself wished to recall Ibrāhīm from Vijayanagar and make him ascend the *gaddī*. Daulat had been confined by his brother in the almost inacessible Bhongīr fort, and when Jagadēva tried to get him out, he was himself trapped by 'Ainu'l-Mulk's forces and brought to Golkonda where he was confined to Bālā Ḥisār, the highest point in the Golkonda fort.

In the meantime, urgent summons were sent to Ibrāhīm by the discontented elements in the State to come back and claim his patrimony. Ibrāhīm was met at the frontier by Mustafā Khān who had been instrumental in placing the boy Subḥān on the throne only a few weeks earlier. When Ibrāhīm reached Kōvilkonḍa he was welcomed by the "Kārkuns, officers, nāikwāṛis, blacksmiths, 'oḍḍas', well-diggers, guards, load-bearers, bandsmen, tenants" and many other Hindus and Muslims of the locality who waited on him and hailed him as Malik Ibrāhīm Shāh.[7] The new King—he was the first cf the dynasty to be so proclaimed—entered Golkonda in triumph on July 27, 1550.

Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh

The long reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (1550-1580) may be said to form a high water-mark in the history of the Quṭbashāhī Kingdom both in the cultural and the political spheres. It saw literary fluorescence brought about by the patronage given to Telugu as well as Persian, and the slow but sure rise of the Dakhni idiom which later flowered into Urdu. On the political side, it is noticeable that Ibrāhīm was the first ruler of Tilang-Andhra who was called a king by his contemporaries, the first to whom some undisputed coins can be traced, and the first who joined hands with other rulers of the Deccan for a common cause and thus crushed the power of Vijayanagar.

Ibrāhīm had spent some of his most impressionable years as an

[7] The remarkable Telugu inscription which recounts the reception in great detail, is found on a pillar on the first landing of the lofty Kovilkonda fort, and s copied and translated in *R. H. A. D.* 1928–29, pp. 21–24.

exile at Vijayanagar, and it is even reported that he married a Hindu lady named Bhāgīratī there. It was thus only natural that he vied with the Telugu speaking rulers in his patronage of that language. His court was thronged by Telugu poets of note, and he identified himself so much with Telugu culture that his name was affectionately Teluguised as *Malkibhrāma* and *Abhirāma*. There was a conscious fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures not only at the court but also among the aristocracy and the common people; and some of the highest posts in the kingdom were filled by the Hindus. The court was also attracted by notable literary men from across the seas, and though Dakhnī-Urdu was still in its embryonic stage it had found a definite place as a literary language of Tilang-Andhra.

No doubt, it is Muḥammad-Qulī who has left his name to posterity by founding the city of Haidarabad, but it was his father Ibrāhīm who showed the way first by trying to expand the city of Golkonda westward where Ibrāhīm Bāgh is now situated, and then by constructing the bridge, now called Purānā Pul, on the Mūsī in 1578 Plate 1. He also ordered the construction of the beautiful artificial lake called the Husain Sāgar and another artificial lake sixteen miles from the Capital at a new town called Ibrāhīmpaṭan. These lakes still serve the irrigational needs of the locality.

Ibrāhīm succeeded to the throne after the State had passed through turmoil and chaos during his unkind brother Jamshīd's reign. Immediately after his accession he set to work to make the administration as efficient as possible, and to put down with a stern hand robbers and highwaymen who had been infesting the country for years. In his foreign policy he always tried to steer a middle course, and rarely did he attempt to extend his dominion beyond the region where Telugu was spoken as the mother tongue. There was the usual recrudescence of war between the Quṭbshāhīs, the 'Ādilshāhīs and the Nizāmshāhīs, sometimes one gaining the upper hand sometimes another, while the regent of Vijayanagar, Rāmarāj was watching the show with covetous eyes from his point of vantage. In the very first year of his reign, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, who had succeeded to the throne of Bijapur on his father Ismā'īl's death, allied with Rāmarāj in an attempt to wrest Sholāpur and Kalyāni from Aḥmadnagar. The Aḥmadnagar forces retreated and the city was invested. Rāmarāj had instructed

one of his chief officers "to harry the country as far as Godavari" with the result that the Vijayanager army spared nothing which came in its way and "even insulted the honour of Mussulman women, destroyed the mosques and did not respect the sacred Koran". Weak as he was, 'Alī could only witness all this with horror; when the second attack was launched against Aḥmadnagar he made Rāmarāj promise that mosques and sacred edifices would not be desecrated.[8]

Rāmarāj was, however, so puffed up with pride that he began insulting even the envoys sent by the Sultāns, and this led, for the first time, to the formation of a league of the four Sultāns, Husain Nizām Shāh, 'Alī Ādil Shāh, 'Āli Barīd Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, against Vijayanagar. The Sultāns with their armies met at Tālīkōṭa, now in the Bijapur district, marched southwards to the Krishna, by-passed the concentrated Vijayanagar army, forded the river at Islāmpūr, marched right into the Vijayanagar territory as far as Banihaṭṭī on the Maski, now in the Rāichūr district about fifteen miles south of the Krishna, and defeated Rāmarāj who was killed in the great battle fought on January 23, 1565.[9] The pusillanimous Tirumala fled from the city of Vijayanagar with "550 elephants laden with gold, diamonds and precious stones" leaving the city to robbers, dacoits "bringaris, lambaris, kuruhas" and the like.[10]

The League of the Four Sultāns, which was formed by force of circumstances, fell to pieces once the immediate objective was gained, and internecine feuds commenced anew. There were constant disagreements among the Sulṭanates, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's assistance being sought now by one party and now by another. Two major territorial changes were effected during Ibrāhīm's reign which had a lasting effect on the fortunes of the Deccan; one was the final pacification of the rebellion-ridden north-eastern frontier of the Qutbshāhī Kingdom which by now had almost reached the present Andhra Pradēsh-Orissa boundary; and the

[8] *N. & V.*, I, 255; *Briggs*, III, 120; *Fer.* II, 126.

[9] For this battle, which is wrongly named the Battle of Talikota or the Battle of Rakshasi-Tangdi, see Sherwani, 'Battle of the Krishna', *J. I. H.*, December, 1957, pp. 360–85.

[10] Quotation from Diogo de Couto, for which see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* pp. 206–07.

other was the elimination of the Kingdom of Berar and its annexation to the Nizāmshāhī dominions.

After reigning for over thirty-one lunar years, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh died on June 5, 1580.

Chapter 2

THE FOUNDATION OF HAIDARABAD

MUHAMMAD-QULI Qutb Shah succeeded his father Ibrāhīm on 21–4–988/5–6–1580 when he was barely fifteen yeras old. He was not the eldest son of his father, and it seems that his accession took place only after a few days' subtle manoeuvring, his eldest brother's claims being set aside.[1] However that may be, his reign was marked not so much by fresh conquests as by the blossoming of all that was latent in Tilang in the field of literature, art, architecture and fine arts; the cummulative effect of this cultural nascency was the planning and construction of the new capital across the Mūsī which the King named *Ḥaidarābād* or the 'City of Ḥaidar', a standing and lasting monument to his own fine tastes and to the glory of the epoch dominated by the rulers of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty.[2] The influx of the population into the walled city of Golkonda caused by the name and fame of the rulers of Tilang in India as

[1] Muhammad-Quli was born on Friday, 14-9-973/4-4-1566; *Q. S.*, 182. *Fer.*, II. 172, is wrong when he says that the Prince was 12 when he ascended the throne, and also that he was the eldest son of his father. As will be discussed later, Ferishta has committed many mistakes in his description of Qutbshahi history in general and Muhammad-Quli in particular. *Q. S.*, 229 says that Muhammad-Quli was the third son of his father, the eldest being 'Abdu'l-Qadir, *alias* Shah Sahib, who is reputed to have predeceased his father, and Husain-Quli, who was definitely living then and was older than Muhammad-Quli by many years. The accession of Muhammad-Quli seems to have been the result of a *coup*, which was facilitated by the absence of Mir Shah Mir who was away at the siege of Naldrug, and whose daughter was to be married to Husain-Quli. It seems that Rai Rao, who was Ibrahim's confidant and adviser at the time of the late king's death, and was perhaps one of the leaders of the dakhni group, took advantage of Mir Shah Mir's absence and put the boy Muhammad-Quli on the throne in the hope that he would be able to mould the policy of the boy king as he liked. A testament of the late king in which he had appointed Muhammad-Quli to be his successor was duly brought out; *Burhan*, 527. It must, however, be remembered that the metrical *Tawarikh-i-Qutbshqhi*, Ethe, 1486, says on fol. 126 that, Muhammad-Quli was the eldest son of Ibrahim.

[2] The new city was named Haidarabad or the *City of Haidar* from the very beginning; *Q. S.*, 249. For a full discussion of the same see Appendix II, at the end of the book.

well as overseas, resulted in congestion and consequent unhealthy atmosphere, and necessitated the extension of the limits of the capital even during Ibrāhīm's reign.[3] But Ibrāhīm at first thought of extending his capital towards the west and the north of Golkonda, and it was probably for that purpose that he laid out the vast resort Bāgh Ibrāhīm-Shāhī (now called Ibrāhīm Bāgh), and constructed a number of pavilions in it, some of which still exist along with the mosque and music pavilion, reputed to have been built by Pēmamatī and Tārāmatī and which now dominate the landscape. But this project was not a complete success because of the scarcity of water in the neighbourhood as well as the rocky terrain, and the problem of congestion of the population in Golkonda remained. East of Golkonda, the Mūsī was very tricky, for, while it was a merely fordable nullah for the greater part of the year, it became most turbulent during the rainy season and was prone to rise many feet and even to overflow its banks. But when the bridge, now called Purānā Pul, was thrown across in 986/1578 it showed the direction in which the extension of the capital could take place.[4]

But the Sultān was too young at his accession to take a definite decision, and it was ten years before he could plan a city which had few equals in the East both in its lay-out and architectural excellence. His artistic leanings found vent in the poetry he composed both in Persian and in Dakhnī as well as in the music and dance parties he arranged in the old capital whenever occasion offered. One such occasion was the return of the youthful Sultān from his successful campaign against the 'Ādilshāhi forces at Naldrug immediately after his accession. The celebrations in Golkonda included many a dance and song party and the atmosphere of the capital became heavy with the smell of exotic perfumes from all parts of the Orient.[5] Not very long after this, another occasion for mirth and merriment was the marriage of the Sultān to the daughter of Mīr Shāh Mīr when, the celebrations ended with the presentation of robes of honour to all and sundry.[6]

[3] For this see Sherwani, 'Culture and Administrative Set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah,' *I. C.*, July 1957, pp. 240, 242.

[4] Construction of the Bridge, *ibid.*, p. 242.

[5] *Q. S.*, 238.

[6] *Ibid.*, 243.

Foundation of Haidarabad

In 999/1591 the plans for the construction of the new capital were ready. It is said that the King, who was fond of the chase, went out hunting, and when he had crossed the bridge over the Mūsī he came to a level ground which pleased him well. It may be remarked here that such episodes are found in our chroniclers in a number of contexts, and they only add a romantic element to the otherwise prosaic narratives.[7] The Sulṭān must have been aware of the area lying south of the Mūsī as there was already a bridge on the river constructed by his father in 1578. He must also have been informed of the increasing population of the area. We learn that the Muslim divine, Shāh Chirāgh, had already made his home in the predominantly Brahmin locality of Chichlam where he was later buried and where grew the great necropolis named after Mir Mu'min the Pēshwa of Muḥammad-Qulī and Muḥammad Quṭb Shah.[8] Muḥammad-Qulī rightly thought that he could lay out the new capital on the plain south of the Mūsī on a grand scale and with facility. So, when the Moon was in the constellation of Leo and Jupiter was in his own mansion the Sultān ordered architects and masons to prepare the plans of a city which would be "unequalled the world over and would be the replica of paradise itself".[9] The new city was built on the gridiron system in the form of a giant double cross. There was already a road running from Golkonda eastward as far as Masulipaṭam and the east coast towns of the kingdom, and this road was made to intersect a new road running north and south at the place where the Chārmīnār now stands.

The Chārmīnār was completed in 1000/1592. It had four broad roads jutting out from its four portals. The northern road ran as far as the Mūsī to a point near where the Afzal Bridge now

[7] The choice of Bidar as the capital of the Bahmanis was due to its salubrious climate; *Burhan*, 54, 55. The episode of the fox and the hare; *Tadh*, fol. 10a. The episode of the fox and the dog in connection with the choice of the site for Ahmadnagar; *Burhan*, 214. See *Bahmanis*, p. 182, 214 n. 5.

[8] For Shah Chiragh see Dr. Zor, *Hayat-i-Mir Muhammad Mu'min*, pp. 270, 276, 277; it may be noted in this context here that the village of Chichlam is located in the area occupied by the present Da'ira Mir Mu'min. Shah Chiragh's tomb still exists and is the scene of the annual *'urs*. For a life sketch of Mir Mu'min see Chapter 8, note 31.

[9] *Fer*; II, 173 *Q. S.*, 348. Such a conjunction was regarded as auspicious.

spans it, while the southern road went straight to what was then called the Kōh-i-Tūr and is now the site of the Falaknumā Castle.[10] The eastern road to the coast of the Bay of Bengal and the western road to Golkonda and beyond, remained as before. About eighty yards north of the Chārmīnār was the great square known then as Jilūkhānah and now called Chārkamān, flanked by four large arches fifty feet in height, and each arch separated from the centre by about a hundred and ten yards.[11] One of the four wide streets which intersected this area led to the great gate of the royal palace which was situated on its western side and which extended right up to the Mūsī and covered an area of about 1,000 square yards. The centre of the piazza was ornamented by a very large fountain adorned by jets of water, which came to be known later as Chār-Sū-Kā-Hauz or the Cistern of Four Cardinal Points.[12] When the main lay-out of the new city was complete, the Sulṭān ordered the construction of fourteen thousand shops, schools, mosques, caravanserais and baths to be built on both sides of the roads, and when everything was ready, the court moved into the new city.[13]

The Chārmīnār

The Chārmīnār or the Four Towers has been called the *chef d'oevre*

[10] *Koh-i Tur*, named after the hill in the Sinai Peninsula where the prophet Moses is said to have had direct communion with God. The hill is held sacred by the Jews, Christians and Muslims alike. It may be that parts of the magnificent Falaknuma Castle have been constructed over some of the foundations of the Kohi-i Tur Palace. See *Q. S.* 291; *Hadiqa*, 32.

[11] It is extremely lucky that these fine ornamental arches of Haidarabad, were saved from the depredations that led to the demolition, in 1954, of a large number of Qutbshahi and early Asafjahi arches and gates, most of which were of extreme beauty and fine proportions. Some were of a rare type like the one near Mir Jumla Tank, and all were so solid that the contractors who had undertaken the demolition gave up the job and were actually paid a considerable amount of money as a subsidy besides the material which they took away. The timely interference of the Government of India saved some of the historical gateways, including the Charkaman.

[12] The original fountain was octagonal in shape.

[13] The chronogram for the completion of the Charminar is *Ya Hafiz*, which is an invocation to God the Guardian.

of the Qutbshāhi period,[14] and is certainly one of the grandest buildings in the whole country (Plate 10). It is an absolutely square edifice, each side measuring sixty feet, while the four arches are twenty-four feet broad and thirty feet high, and the minarets, which are four storeys high, rise to a level of eighty feet from the roof of the building and one hundred and sixty feet from the ground. The uppermost storey of each minaret is reached by one hundred and forty-six steps. As Dr. Yazdani says, the four minarets add to the dignity and picturesqueness of the building while "in order to minimise the height to the observer, the architect has set up a double screen of arched openings at the top of the roof between the minarets".[15] The varied designs of these openings are extremely delicate, and although the arches in the lower row are nearly nine feet high, they, along with the upper ornamental arches, appear "like a border of lace when seen from a distance". The western section of the roof is taken up by a mosque (Plate 5) which is perhaps one of the most beautiful in the whole range of Quṭbshāhi mosques. It has five double arches, representing the *panjtan* or the five great personalities of Islam held particularly sacred by the Shī'ah, namely the Prophet, 'Alī, Fatimah, Hasan and Husain. The style of these arches is peculiar, as each pointed arch has been framed by a cusped arch, a device which is rare in contemporary structures. We must remember that the cusped arch was not entirely unknown to the Quṭbshāhī architects of this period.[16] Moreover, Mughal

[14] Here it might be remarked that the Charminar was by no means a part of the royal palace as Thevenot seems to think; see *Thevenot*, p. 132. It is surprising that *R. H. A. D.*, 1918-19, p. 3 seems to confirm this view and says that "Charminar . . . served as an entrance hall on certain occasions", although it is situated nearly 150 feet from the southern arch of the JiluKhana now called Charkaman and 300 feet from the Kaman Sihr Batil which served as the entrance to the royal palace: *Landmarks*, p. 18. The published data regarding the Charminar has now been supplemented by personal observations on the part of the present author who had occasion to ascend the steps of the edifice a number of times and register what he noticed.

[15] For the cusped *motif* in the central alcove in Mulla Khiyali's mosque in Naya Qil'ah see Sherwani, 'Culture and Administrative Set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah,' *I. C.*, July, 1957, p. 245. There is a plan of the ground floor and the first floor of the Charminar in *R. H. A. D.*, 1918-19 (Plates III and IV), but it seems that no attempt was made to make a plan of the floor on which the mosque is located; at least it has not been published.

[16] For Mughal influence, specially on dress, see the fine portrait of Muham-

influence was slowly but certainly creeping into the Deccan. Gujarat and its concomitant Malwa, had been annexed to the Empire of Akbar in 1573, and the Mughals were knocking hard at the gates of Aḥmadnagar, and the latter was ultimately forced to cede Berar to the Mughals in 1573. There is no doubt that the Mughals brought with them their dress, their manners and their architectural *motifs*, and the cusped arch which we find in the Chārmīnār mosque and in the Jāmi'Masjid of Haidarabad signify the influence of the Mughal architecture in the Deccan.

There are forty-five *musallas* or prayer halls within the covered liwān of the mosque, and there is a large open space in front of the mosque which might have been utilised on Fridays as an adjunct of the mosque. This space is dominated on the eastern side by a beautiful verandah of fine proportions, with a large open arch in the middle flanked by a number of small arches on either side Plate 6. This large central arch is again dominated by a copula supported by small arches and pillars but open on all sides, which might have possibly served either as an observation post or a *ma'dhanah* from which the *mu'adhdhin* called the faithful to prayers.

Many theories have been propounded recently regarding the purpose for which the Chārmīnār was originally built, but almost every one of these ignores the fact that it was primarily the centre of the planned city. The architect wanted to utilise the structure to its best advantage, and it is said that he turned the topmost storey into a school with its vast covered corridor running right round.[17] As one ascends the minarets from the ground floor, one comes across fairly large apartments on each landing, the total number of these being twelve, and these, along with the large corridor, the mosque, and the copula completes the whole structure.

Thévenot, who visited Haidarabad sixty-six years after the

mad-Quli Qutb Shah in the Haidarabad Museum, No. 2246, in contrast with the portrait of the same monarch in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; *Indian and Persian Miniature Paintings*, Rijkshprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (Plate 31).

[17] The school on the top of Charminar; *Mahnamah*, p. 301, where it is related that the school served the needs both of the Hindus and the Muslims. It has been mentioned later that the Charminar was one of the buildings occupied by the French General Bussy when he occupied Haidarabad towards the end of the eighteenth century and used it as his headquarters.

foundation of the new city, says[18] that "all the galleries of the building seem to make the water mount up so that it be conveyed to the King's Palace and reach its heighest apartments," while a later author, Girdhārī Lal, says that the water was brought from the reservoir of Jalapallī. At present there are no pipes visible which might have taken the water up the Chārmīnār. Jalapallī tank is 1851 feet above sea level, and even if we include the silted up surface and the adjacent 'Umdāsagar, it will not be more than six square miles in area, while its embankment is not more than eighteen feet above its bed. Thus it was hardly possible to bring water to the city from such a distance in sufficient volume to provide the needs of the vast area which covered the palaces of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. At present, the only trace of a tank on the topmost floor of the Chārmīnār is an area seven freet square, which has now been filled up with rubble and paved with stone, and it is so small that it could only store up water for the use of the students and teachers who lived there.

A belief seems to have cropped up about the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Chārmīnār was constructed after the model of a ta'ziah or replica of the mausoleum of Imām Ḥusain. This view is first mentioned in Mīr Raushan 'Alī's *Tuzuk-i-Quṭb-shāhiya* which was compiled under the orders of the Dīwān of

18 Waterworks on the Charminar; *Thevenot*, p. 133. *Zafarah*, written in 1771, mentions Jalapalli. Jalapalli is situated just south of 'Umdasagar, a little over 5 miles SSW of Charminar; position, 15° 18′N., 78° 27′E. In that year there was a fountain on the ground floor, but Col. Upton, who visited Haidarabad in 1777, says that the fountain had already disappeared; see Sarkar, *Old Hydarabad*, I. C., 1937, p. 526. *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, I, 217, which was compiled early in the nineteenth century, mentions the school on the top floor and a large fountain on the ground floor. I feel that Thevenot's description of the storage tank from which water was pumped to the royal palaces is rather fanciful. What was probably done was to construct a cistern and a fountain on the road level and a small stroage tank on the top, to which water was probably carried by water-carriers. We must, however, remember that the Qutbshahi monarchs had developed a system of carrying water even to the top of high hills like the Bala Hisar of Golkonda by means of a series of storage tanks from each of which water was carried to the upper one by means of buffalo skins drawn up by the rope-and-pulley system by strong bullocks. But obviously, this was not possible in the case of a building situated in the middle of a densely populated city, and while traces of the water works system and the series of storm water pipes are still found almost intact in Golkonda, no such traces are to be found anywhere near Charminar.

Haidarabad, Raja Chandūlal, in 1265/1848, where it is said that a ta'ziah was originally set up in the place where the Chārmīnār now stands, on Sunday, 1-1-1000/9-10-1591. But we do not find any evidence in any other work of there being a ta'ziah on this site. Apart from the fact that the first of Muharram, 1000 H. happened to be a Saturday not a Sunday, we have ample evidence that the construction of the edifice started as early as 999 H. The *Tuzuk-i-Quṭbshāhiya*, a booklet of 10 folios, on which this belief is based, is an unreliable document and contains a number of historical *faux pas*. For instance it gives the title of Baṛē Malik to Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh while it was really the title borne by his grandfather. Then the author thinks that the name of Shah 'Abbās Safawī was Shah Hayāt Ṣafawī, which also is incorrect. The brochure is an unreliable document and it is not possible to bank on any of its statements unless it is corroborated otherwise.[19]

Another misconception regarding the Chārmīnār is that it served as a gateway in front of the beautiful piazza, on which the "lofty portals of the royal palace opened".[20] This is caused by Thèvenot's statement that "the Palace is continued to the Four Towers". Of course this is not the truth, as the Palace proper was situated beyond the western of the four great arches, originally called Jilūkhanah but now called Chārkamān as the area is enclosed by

[19] *Tuzuk-i-Qutbshahiya*, MSS., Idara Adabiyat-i Urdu, fol. 4 b. This rather thin story has been followed in *Landmarks*, p. 17, where the date of the setting up of the supposed ta'ziah is given as 1-1-999 H.

In the same way it is sometimes said, without much authority, that the Charminar was built in the centre of the new city on the model of the mausoleum of Imam 'Ali a'r-Rida at Meshhed in Iran. This story is repeated by Bashiru'd-Din Ahmad in his *Waqi'at-i Mamlukat-i Bijapur*, II, 547 and by Dr. Zor both in his *Hayat Mir Mu'min*, p. 47, and his interesting though rather novelesque book, *Haidarabad Farkhunda Buniyad*, p. 14. Apart from the fact thet there is no evidence to substantiate this statement, the late S. A. A. Bilgrami, who had been on a pilgrimage to Meshhed himself, told me personally that there is no similarity between the Mausoleum and the Charminar, and further that the Mausoleum, which is not in the centre of the town but is definitely on one side, is by no means the apex of the road system of the city. Bhaonani, in his very readable article, 'A Short History of the Foundation and Growth of the City of Hyderabad, *J. H. A. S.*, 1917, p. 29, mentions *panjas* and *tabut*, but gives no references.

[20] *R. H. A. D.*, 1918-19, p. 3. Thevenot's statement is on p. 132 of his *Travels*.

four stately arches which are called *kamāns* in the Deccan. Even if it is considered, by stretch of imagination, that the southern arch was a part of the Palace, still we must remember that there is a distance of about 250 feet between the northern arch of the Chārmīnār and the southern one of the Chārkamān.

In fact, Muḥammad-Qulī and his architects followed the principle of the lay-out of well-planned cities both ancient and modern. The tetrapylae of the old Greek towns, the military camps of the Romans, the Persians and the Mughals, the great central square of Hirāt, the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, and nearer still the Chaubārā at Bidar and the lay-out of intersecting canals in Mughal gardens all over India, are cases in point. The Sulṭān himself was an artist of some merit, and when he began to plan the new city on a clean slate it was only natural that he should fix a pivotal point in the shape of a finely proportioned centre-piece (Plates 2, 3 and 4). The architect improved upon similar structures elsewhere by making it not merely ornamental but useful as well, and it is this which makes the structure unique. Originally used as a school, the building was later utilised as the place from where important proclamations were read out to the public,[21] and it was occupied by the French commander Bussy as his headquarters in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Chārkamān, Palaces, Gardens, Parks

About 250 feet north of the Chārmīnār begins the great piazza, the Chārkamān or the Four Arches. What the architect has done in this case is that, instead of bringing together four great arches to form a single unit, he has kept them distinct, separated from the centre by nearly 375 feet in each case, so that the space between any two arches facing each other is nearly 750 feet. Like the arches of the Chārmīnār these lofty arches, each 60 feet high, 36 feet wide at the base and six feet in thickness, nearly face the four cardinal points, and have steps leading to the top with a fine view of the surrounding streets. The vast square, originally the jilūkhānah

[21] Thus, on the occasion of the proclamation of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah as king on 13-5-1033/31-1-1626; *Hadiqa*, p. 20. This no doubt accounts for the "large Table from the Ground with Steps to go up to it" mentioned by Thevenot, p. 133.

or the Guards' Square and an appanage to the Palace, has unfortunately been considerably defaced at the corners by the addition of shops (Plate 7). The western gate, once called the Shēr-e 'Ali Gate, served as the eastern gateway of the Palaces which extend right up to the river. The three remaining arches or gates were collectively known by the Hindi name of Tripōlia or the Three Gates.[22] As Dr. Yazdani remarks, this was the period when the fashion of erecting lofty arches as entrance to buildings was much in vogue both in northern and southern India. The Buland Darwāzah of Fatḥpūr-Sīkrī was completed in 1575, i.e. only a few years before the lay-out of Haidarabad city; the great entrance of the Aṭāla Dēvi Mosque at Jaunpur still evokes the wonder of the traveller. In the Deccan itself the two huge masonry blocks with large gateways which flank the entrance to the open ground in front of the Bālā Hisār Darwāza at Golkonda may well have inspired the builders of the Chārmīnār and the Chārkamān.[23]

On the top of the eastern arch of the Chārkamān, now called the Kālī Kamān, sat the royal musicians playing *shahnā'ī* and other instruments five times a day, while the northern and southern gateways were guarded by troops. The western arch which led into the royal palace, was further guarded by a very costly gateway, in the pillar and lintel style, the stone frame of which was 60 feet high and 36 feet wide, while its shutters were made of costly ebony and sandalwood, studded with nails of gold and inlaid with precious stones.[24] Privacy within the Palace was ensured by a screen made of cloth-of-gold which was hung by the lintel of this gorgeous gateway. It is said that Mīr Mu'min, who was the Peshwa of the Kingdom in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah and his successor erected a large stone pillar by the side of this gate and inscribed on it certain Qur'ānic verses and charms which were reputed to have the power of warding off the effect of any magic which might be worked against the royal family. It was for this reason that the name of the arch was changed from *Kamān Shēr-i-'Ali* to *Kamān Siḥr-i-Bāṭil* which has now been corrupted into *Kamān Shēr-i-Bāṭil* and even to *Miṭṭī ka Shēr*![25] The Sulṭān

[22] Tripolia; *Mahnamah*, 300.

[23] *R. H. A. D.*, 1918-19, p. 3. [24] *Q. S.*, 251; *Mahnamah*, 300.

[25] *Ibid.*; Dr. Zor describes in great detail how the charms set up by Mir Mu'min worked, and the popular beliefs regarding the *Peshwa's* supernatural powers,

would not allow the huge piazza to be left without further decoration and ordered coconut and betelnut trees to be planted right round, which must have enhanced the beauty of the great square.

The Siḥr-i-Bāṭil Gate, therefore, had a distinct individuality of its own as the entrance to the Royal Palace, and yet was part of the general scheme which went to form the great square and which connected it psychologically with the centre of the new town, the Chārmīnār. As one entered this gate one immediately faced a large area one thousand yards square, full of buildings, tanks, parks, groves and fountains, all included in the royal palace. The area represents today practically the whole triangle covered by the Ghāsī Bazār, the High Court, the City College and Pēṭla Burj. Perhaps the oldest palace was the Dād Maḥal or the Palace of Equity, which was nine storeys high, the main building covering a plinth area of 156 feet by 66 feet, and it is said that the Sulṭān himself dispensed justice there. This palace was constructed in such a way that one side of it overlooked the main thoroughfare so that it would be easily accessible for those who wanted to lay a complaint before the Royal person.

In order, perhaps, to avoid frivolous complaints, it was ordered that all complaints should go to the King through his secretaries and chamberlains.[26] On the other hand, Muḥammad-Qulī was

in *Hayat*, pp. 233-46. Such traditions can at best be regarded as tales on peoples' lips in the beginning of the last century when the *Mahnamah* was penned, i.e.) centuries after the Mir's death. The transition from *Sihr-i Batil* to *Mitti-ka-Sher* is easy enough; the similarity between the words *sihr* and *sher* is obvious; *batil* means false, and a false lion can only be made of clay or *mitti*! Compare the epithet, *feet of clay*.

[26] *Q. S.* 251. The intention of the Sultan in constructing the Dad Mahal and naming it so is clear. But as each petition had to go through the hands of "Akabiran wa A'yan wa Pardadaran" (*Q. S.*, 253) it is very unlikely that every application reached the sultan, especially as many of the applications filed would be against the conduct of the relations and friends of the very people through whom the applications were to be forwarded. Muzaffar Khafi, in his *Tadhkiratu'l-Muluk*, which was completed in Jamadi II, 1248/October, 1832, says that the Sultan personally dispensed justice in the Dad Mahal. It may be noted here that, in a discussion on Bhaonani's paper on *A Short History of the Foundation and Growth of Hyderabad*, read before the Haiderabad Archaeological Society, Mr. (later Sir) Akbar Hydari remarked that there were still some granite foundations near Masallam Jung Bridge which were pointed out as the foundation of the Dad Mahal; see *J. H. A. S.*, 1917, p. 110.

bent on keeping his officers in check, and decreed that every morning just after sunrise, the amīrs, nobles, nāikwāṛīs and others should come and salute him, while one thousand footmen stationed at the main gate of the palace were always at his beck and call.[27]

As one passed the Kamān Siḥr-i-Bāṭil the first place one faced was the royal Record Office and other offices, then the *Jamadārkhānah*, or the Department of the Royal Wardrobe, and certain other *kārkhānahs* or Royal Stores. On the northern side of the compound was another great gate near which were platforms reserved for soldiers, ḥawāladars, elephant keepers and news-writers. The next edifice was called the Lāl Maḥal or the Red Palace and was meant to be the *locale* of royal servants, and next came the *Chandan Maḥal* or the Sandalwood Palace then called *Sajan Maḥal* or the Palace of the Firmament, where Turks, Arabs and Dakhnīs were posted. The last apartments nearest to the Palace proper was occupied by the learned and those versed in religious lore as well as persons in whom the King reposed special confidence. Towards the east of this was a large platform about a hundred yards long, on which food of the best quality was served to the thousands of inmates of the campus.[28]

The largest palace occupied by the royal family was the *khudādād Maḥal* which was constructed in 1019/1610 after the marriage of the King's daughter, Hayāt Bakshī Bēgam to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān. The Palace was seven or eight storeys high, each storey being named after God, the Prophet, 'Ali, Hasan, Husain, Ja'far Sādiq and Mūsa Kāzim. Of these the storey named after 'Ali, the Haidar Maḥal, was the most resplendent, and its roof and pillars are said to have been studded with precious stones and nails of pure gold. When the palace was ready, the Sulṭān distri-

[27] *Q. S.*, 252; *Mahnamah*, 300; *Hadiqatu'l 'Alam*, 218. The homage to the Sultan at sunrise looks very much like the morning *darshan* introduced by Sultan Muhammad-Quli's contemporary, Akbar the Great, at the Mughal Court.

[28] *Q. S.*, 251. Here Sajan Mahal is described as the residence of the learned and those in the royal confidence; but we have a poem by the Sultan in his *Kulliyat*, 230, in which he extols Sajan Mahal as the palace where he made love to one of his many paramours. It is probable that while Sajan Mahal was a royal residence, a part of it was used for housing men of eminence. As a matter of fact besides Dad Mahal we do not find any considerable royal residence till the building of Khudadad Mahal in 1019/1610.

buted robes of honour to those present among whom were nobles and learned men who had been specially invited for the occasion. Mīrak Mu'īn Sabzwāri, who represented the court of Aḥmadnagar at Haidarabad, composed the following chronogram on the auspicious occasion:

این قصر که هست رشك فرمائے بهشت ایام بـه آب زنـدگانیش سـرشت
تاریخ مـرتب شـدندش کلک قضا بر لوح بقا بنائے جان بخش نوشت[۲۹]

Apart from palaces proper, Muḥammad-Qulī built three vast pavilions, two on the top of the hills and one, the *Nadī Maḥal*, overlooking the southern bank of the Mūsī, to which he sometimes retired by way of relaxation. It is related that once the Sultān was out for shikar in the jungle about four miles to the north of the new city, and he was so much engrossed in the game that he lost all count of time. It was already noon, and it became hot and sultry and no water seemed to be available. Servants and followers were sent in all directions, and a party of them reported that there was plenty of water round one of the hillocks nearby. The Sultān liked the site so much that he ordered a vast pavilion to be erected on the top of the hill and large cisterns and gates facing the four cardinal points at the base. When the buildings were ready he had a garden laid out right round, which he named *Nabāt Ghāt* or the Hillside Botanical Park. This hill was without doubt the one which was later known as *Naubat Pahār*, and the

[29] The date of the building of the Khudadad Mahal is definitely 1019/1610 as is clear from the chronogram quoted; it cannot be 1009/1600 as in the late Shamsu'l-lah Qadri's informative article, *Dakan ki 'ilmi Taraqqian*; Tarikh, Hyderabad, April-June, 1929, at page 137. Moreover, it is definite that the palace was built after Hayat Bakhshi Begam's marriage to Sultan Muhammad which took place in 1016/1607 as is clear from the sequence in *Q. S.*; Mr. Qadri was also wrong in stating on p. 136 that Hayat Bakhshi Begam was married in 1007.

As Dr. Zor says in *Farkhunda Buniyad*, p. 29 that there is some uncertainty whether the palace was seven storeyed or eight storeyed. *Q. S.*, 290. He enumerates seven storeys, while we have it from Muhammad-Quli's own pen that there were eight *chhajjas* or eves in it; see *Kulliyat*, p. 211.

It is possible that the Sultan reckoned the roof of the palace as a storey by itself, especially if it had a covered staircase leading right up to the top of the roof.

water 'discovered' on the day must have been the fine sheet of Husain Sāgar. The Nabāt Ghāt[30] was later extended right up to the river to form the *Bāgh-i-Dilkushā* and covered the whole area now taken up by Bashīr Bāgh, the Bāgh-i-'Ām, the Fath Maidān and the Residency, totalling about nine square miles.

About two miles south of the Chārmīnār was another hill which was covered with greenery all round and had a very salubrious climate. It was just outside the limits of the new capital and it must have struck the artistic monarch that just as he had erected a vast pavilion on the Nabāt Ghāt in the north it would be in the fitness of things if a similar pavilion was erected on the southern hill as well. A pavilion was, therefore, constructed there, consisting of four large halls and a platform 30 yards long and 20 yards broad, with a large tank 45 yards by 30 yards at the back. The King named it *Kōh-i-Tūr*. It commanded the southern parts of the city much in the same way as the Nabāt Ghāṭ commanded the northern parts. This hill has still the pride of place among the suburbs of Haidarabad, for it is on it that the world famous Falaknumā Castle has been constructed, and as has been mentioned, it is possible that at least some parts of that castle have neen built over the strong foundations laid by the builders of the pavilion on the Kōh-i-Tūr.[31] The whole area from Nabāt Ghāṭ to Kōh-i-Tūr was full of gardens, groves and parks, and the buildings of the new capital of Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh must have glittered like gems in the midst of the all-pervading greenery. It was not merely the palaces which were set in the midst of gardens, parks were laid out in other places as well. Some of the gardens were planned even on the roofs of palaces, and Tavernier expresses

[30] Nabat Ghat and Bagh Muhammad Shahi; *Q. S.*, 291; *Hadiqa* 22, 32. "A series of groves between Nabat Bagh and the capital"; *Hadiqatu'l- 'Alam*, 238, 248. "Area between Nabat Bagh and Koh-i-Tur, full of gardens and parks"; *Hadiqa*, 32. For Nabat Ghat and its later development see Zor, *Haidarabad Farkhunda Buniyad*, 46; it should be remarked here that the first part of this readable book dealing with historical perspective is full of information about the antecedents of modern Haidarabad. It may interest the reader to know that the last remnant of Nabat Ghat or "Naubat Pahar" was pulled down in 1946, and no building of the Qutbshahi period now remains there; the eastern side of the Cliff shows most extensive quarrying of stone from the base almost right up to the top; and that the "kiosks" at the top must have been very extensive indeed.

[31] For *Koh-i-Tur*, see note 10 above.

his great surprise how the roof gardens of the Ḥinā Maḥal could contain "trees of that bigness, that it is a thing of great wonder how these arches should bear so large a Burthen."[32]

To have an idea of the internal plans of these gardens, it would be well to quote here the description of one of them, probably the Bāgh Lingampallī, left for us by Thèvenot:

"There are many fair Gardens in this Town, their beauty consists in having long walks kept very clean, and lovely Fruit trees . . . . The gardens without the Town are the loveliest, and I shall only describe one of them . . . . At first one enters into a great place; it is planted with Palms and Areca-trees, so near to each other that the Sun can hardly pierce through them . . . . The Walks of it are straight and neat with Borders of wild Flowers which they call Ghoul-Daudi. . . . The House is at the end of this Garden has two great Wings adjoining the main Body of it: It is two Storeys high . . . . From the lower Diwan, a Terrass-Walk two hundred Paces long, and fifty broad, faced with Stones, runs along all the Front of the House; and two little Groves of Trees, that are on the side of it. This Terrass that is at the Head of the second Garden . . . is raised a fathom and a half above it, and has very-neat Stairs for going down into it . . . . The first thing that is to be seen . . . is a great Reservatory of Tanqui, each side whereof is above two hundred paces long; in it there are great many Pipes that rise half a Foot above water and Bridge upon it, raised about a Foot over the surface of the Water, and above six Foot broad, with wooden Railes. This Bridge is four score Paces long and leads into a Platform of Octagone Figure in the middle of the Reservatory, where there are Steps to descend into the Water . . . . There are Pipes in the eight Angles of it, and in the Pillars of the Railes, from whence the Water plays on all sides, which makes a very lovely sight. In the middle of the Platform there is a little House built two Storey high . . . . The roof of this Building is bordered with Balisters, and covers the whole Platform also . . . . The Garden . . . is planted with Flowers and Fruit-trees: All are

[32] Hina Mahal was situated on the banks of the Musi within Amin Bagh, once the garden of Amin Khan, a high dignitary of the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah; see Sherwani, 'Culture and Administrative Set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah', *I. C.*, April, 1957, p. 132 ff. The site is still called Amin Bagh, and it is here that the Victoria Zenana Hospital is located. The quotations from Tavernier will be found in his *Travels*, p. 124; see also *Hayat*, p. 130.

in a very good order, and in this as well as in the first Garden there are lovely Walks well Gravelled, and bordered with diverse Flowers: There runs a Canal in the midst of the great Walk, which is four Foot over, and carries away what it receives from little Fountains of Water, that are also in the middle of the Walk in certain distances: In short, this Garden is very large, and bounded by a Wall which has a great Gate in the middle that opens into a Close of a large extent, Planted with Fruit-trees, and as nearly contrived as the Garden."[33]

The extent of such gardens and parks may be realised by the statement which is repeated in a number of our authorities that the whole area bounded on the north by Patancherū, on the south by Ibrāhīmpaṭan, on the east by Bhongīr and in the west by Narkoṇḍā was full of groves and gardens, and it was only natural, as Tavernier says that the capital was called *Baghnagar* or 'the City of Gardens' by the common people.[34]

[33] The extract is from *Thevenot*, pp. 133-35. For Bagh Lingampalli, see *Hadiqa* 32; *Landmarks*, 39.

[34] Limits of the gardens planted round Haidarabad; *Q. S.*, 248; *Zafarah* 10. *Q. S.*, is not correct when it says that Patancheru, Ibrahimpatan, Bhongir and Narkunda were all 10 farsang (or 30 miles) from the capital. *Patancheru*, 18 miles north-west of Haidarabad, 17° 32′ N., 78° 16′ E; *Ibrahimpatan*, 20 miles south of Haidarabad, 17° 12′ N., 70° 30′ E.; *Bhongir*, 30 miles east of Haidarabad, 17° 16′ N., 78° 20′ E. This vast area of nearly 500 square miles was covered with groves, gardens and parks. It would interest the readers to know that one of the taluqas of the Haidarabad district is called Taluqa Baghat to this day, and even now there are many parts of the city named after baghs (or gardens) which were once the main features of the locality but which have now entirely disappeared. Such, for instance, are the two Jam Baghs, the Murlidhar Bagh, Afzalganj Chaman, Bagh Muhiyud-Din Pasha, Amin Bagh and many others. They have all been built over to form new wards of the extended city. Reference to *Baghnagar* in Tavernier, 122. A skeleton of Bagh Lingampalli still exists, but the Qutbshahi pavilion is no more. The argument is further strengthened by the statement of Rafi'ud Din Shirazi in his *Tazkiratu'l Muluk* compiled in 1017/1608 that the whole city was one huge garden. He says on Fol. 61 b:

> "A large city with magnificent mansions was founded everyone of which had a large garden attached to it. Some of the trees in these gardens were so tall that they seemed to touch the very sky. Both bazaars and houses are so full of trees that the whole city looks like one garden (bagh), and there is such a variety of fruits from Khurasan and Portugal that they have lost all their worth."

See also, Appendix II, below.

Other Buildings of Public Utility

It has already been stated that when Muḥammad-Qulī was planning the new city, he took care to order the construction of fourteen thousand shops on the roads radiating from Chārmīnār and the Jilūkhānah and allowed tradesmen to ply their trade in them. One of these was the Trunk road which extended from Golkonda to the east coast, and ran over the bridge which Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shah had constructed across the Mūsī in 986-1578. This bridge must have looked its best when Tavernier visited the city in 1676, for, he was so much struck by its beauty and proportions that he likened it to the Pont Neuf of Paris the construction of which, incidentally, began in the year the 'Old Bridge' was completed.[35]

Haidarabad was meant at first only to accommodate the excess population of Golkonda. Time had not come yet for the granting of the prayer which the founder of Haidarabad had addressed to God in all humility and in which he had begged Almighty to increase the population of the new city to the extent of the number of fish in a river.[36] The population of Haidarabad in those early days could not have been very large; for, writing in 1676, Tavernier says that it was less than the population of the city of Orléans in France[37] (which has even now not more than a hundred thousand inhabitants). The meagreness of the population of Haidarabad in those early days can be gauged by the size of the Jāmi' Masjid—the first mosque completed after the mosque on the top of Chārmīnār—which cannot accommodate more than seven hundred and fifty, or at the most, eight hundred worshippers.

The view expressed by Bilgrami and Wilmott regarding this mosque, that "it has no pretensions to architectural merit", is strange, for, if we were to consider only the calligraphy on the *miḥrāb* containing the first *rukū'* of the second part of the Qur'ān, in fine *suls* style from the hands of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-

[35] Le Pont Neuf, which literally means the New Bridge, is one of the oldest bridges on the Seine and connects the Ile de la Cite with the rest of Paris. It was commenced in the year that Ibrahim's bridge on the Musi was completed, and was not ready till 29 years later. When Tavernier came to the Deccan there were only three or four bridges on the Seine, and the Pont Neuf was the longest and the finest.

[36] Prayer in *Kulliyat*, p. 6.

[37] *Tavernier*, p. 123.

Fakhkhār of Shiraz, or the chronogram executed in *nasta'liq* on the entrance in the writing of Bābā Khān, it would make the mosque an outstanding monument of the Quṭbshāhī period. Dr. Yazdani says regarding the chronogram that its style "represents perhaps the finest *nasta'liq* script in the Deccan", while the inscription on the *miḥrāb* "is a good specimen of the ornamental *naskh* which, in a simple form, assumed the name of *suls* . . . . The bold sweeping curves and the fine crisp vertical and horizontal strokes of these inscriptions exhibit an art of a very high order."[38] Completed in 1006/1597, the Jāmi' Masjid has a double hall 72′, 6″ by 32′, 6″ with a paved courtyard 74′ by 70′ (Plate 8). At the entrance to the roofed hall is a wide double arch of a simple pattern flanked by three smaller arches on either side. While in the case of the mosque on the top of the Chārmīnār the simple arch is framed in each case by a cusped arch, here in the Jāmi' Masjid, the architect has *superimposed* a false cusped arch about three feet higher than the real opening in the case of each of the flanking arches, like a crown over the lower arch. The whole composition is extremely pleasing to the eye. There are only two massive pillars on either side of the roofed double hall. They can hardly be called 'lofty' as Dr. Yazdani says, and their shortness is perhaps purposeful as the architect might have wished to contrast them with the grandeur of the southern arch of the Jilūkhānah which overlooks the mosque and also the imposing Chārmīnār nearby. It may be remarked here that the entrance to the mosque, which is (different from all other mosques) situated *by the side of* the building proper so as to face the main road running between the Chārmīnār and the Jilūkhānah, is in the pillar and lintel style again superimposed by a cusped arch, thus making room for the fine nasta'līq chronogram mentioned above.

It must be remembered that the Jāmi' Masjid was not the first purely religious edifice built in the new capital. The first such structure was what is still called the *Bādshāhī 'Āshūrkhānah* the

[38] *B. and W.*, 568. For Dr. Yazdani's description of the Jami' Masjid, from which quotations have been given, see *E. I. M.*, 1917-18 p. 43 and plates XVI and XVIIa; *R. H. A. D.*, 1918-19, p. 5. The Jami' Masjid as well as the Charminar were extensively repaired in the time of Nawab Nasiru'd-Daulah in the beginning of the last century, but I do not agree with the view of some that the original style was changed by the superimposition of the cusped arches then.

construction of which was commenced immediately after that of the Chārmīnār and continued from 1001 to 1005. An 'Āshūr-khānah is a building which houses the *'alams* or conventional copies of the standard carried by Imām Husain, and as the Quṭbshāhīs were Shī'ah it was only right that the building of an 'Āshūrkhānah should have priority over all other scacred buildings. There have been several additions to the 'Āshūrkhānah in later times ranging right up to 1179/1765, and extensive repairs have been carried out many times in more recent years. The original part of the building is the central niche and the western wall on which certain verses of the qur'ān are inscribed in the best tughra style on fine enamelled tiles. As later additions are also commemorated on similar tiles or on painted stucco, the whole composition is re-markably resplendent, especially because the joints are almost imperceptible. Here it must be remarked that the inscription on the central niche, the earliest in the 'Āshūrkhānah, mentions the Sulṭān as *Ghulām-i-'Alī* or Slave of 'Alī and without the epithet *Qulī* being joined on to Muḥammad. Had it not been for the date, 1001 H., clearly mentioned in the inscriptions, one might have taken it to have been executed during the reign of Muḥam-mad-Qulī's successor, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, especially as there are certain inscriptions that belong to the reign of Muḥam-mad's successor, 'Abdullāh. The most outstanding feature of the building is the lavish use of the enamelled tiles made by the archi-tect, "which compares favourably with the best buildings of Lahore and Multan" and even now the resplendence of the enamel has not been blurred by the lapse of centuries.[39]

[39] *Landmarks*, 25. Compare the epithet *Ghulam-i 'Ali* on the niche of the *'Ashurkhanah* with the inscription *Sa'adatmand-i 'Ali* on the reverse of Ibrahim Qutb Shah's *paisa*; Sherwani, 'Culture and Administrative Set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah', *Islamic Culture*, April, 1957, p. 98. Some of the inscriptions in the 'Ashurkhanah have been merely painted on the walls, including the western wall.

It might be mentioned here that the known coins of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah do not contain such an epithet because the word *Quli* signifies such subser-vience to the Prophet himself; and one of the reasons why this word was omitted in the inscription of the 'Ashurkhanah may be that the Sultan wished to indicate his subservience to 'Ali by the adjectival clause, *Ghulam-i 'Ali*.

For the legends on the coins of Muhammad-Quli, see Part II, ch. 5, n. 5.

A very important building of public utility, perhaps unique in the whole range of secular architecture in the Deccan, is the famous *Dāru'sh shifā* or General Hospital built by Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh in 1004/1595 (Plates 9(a)(b)(c). This great hospital was to serve the medical needs of the population of the nascent capital. The inner courtyard of the building is approximately 175 feet square, and the total area covered by it extends to nearly twenty-five thousand square feet. It is a double storeyed building, of which the eastern, western and southern wings have twelve double rooms on the ground floor and the same number on the first floor, while the northern wing is taken up by a fine gateway and eight double rooms on the ground floor and the same number on the first floor. The rooms are amply wide and each double room could easily accommodate four beds. There are staircases leading right up to the top of the building, and the convalescent patient could well breathe the fresh air available and in addition have a fine view of Muḥammad-Qulī's Haidarabad. It is a great pity that this fine monument to the public spirit of the founder of Haidarabad is in the continued process of decay and dilapidation, and no one seems to be responsible for its upkeep.

The Dāru'sh-shifa was a hospital as well as a College of *yūnāni* medicine. We are told that highly experienced and learned *ḥakīms* who were specialists in various diseases were employed by the State to attend to the patient as well as to lecture before medical students. There were two departments, namely the hospital proper and the College; medicines, lodging and diet were provided free to the patients. Those young men who wished to join the College were given scholarships by the Government and were assured employment after they had taken their medical degrees. The splendid mosque to the north-west of the hospital with its. tall graceful minarets, still stands in all its glory, and its enamel tiled medallions ornating the three arches still glitter in the sun. But the *ḥammām* or the bath attached to the hospital does not exist any more, and the caravanserai which perhaps provided board and lodging to those "on the waiting list" has been turned into a slum. Haidarabad was the home of a number of eminent physicians some of whom were possibly attached to the hospital and the college. Of these, two have left works on their specialised subjects: Hakīm Muḥammad 'Ali al-Ḥusaini wrote the volum-

inous *Ikhtiyārāt-i Qutbshāhī* which was itself a commentary of Zainu'd-din 'Attār's *Ikhtiyārāt-i Badī'ī*; while Hakīm Safiyu'd-dīn Gīlānī's book *Tazkiratu'sh-Shahawāt* was regarded as the standard work on the subject of sex.[40]

[40] *Daru'sh-shifa:* The whole building is in a most disreputable condition, and it may be that in a few years this outstanding secular relic of the Qutbshahi period (which it can well be compared with the Madrasah of Mahmud Gawan at Muhammadabad-Bidar; see *Bahmanis*, pp. 299-300) will cease to exist. Certain societies and even some private persons have occupied parts of the great quadrangle, but they do not seem to take the slightest interest in the decay which has set in the rest of the enclosure. Repairs have been carried out to the main gate facing the north because it serves as the entrance to a small and architecturally incongruous building which has recently been erected in the centre of the quadrangle to house the *Sar Tauq 'Alam* supposed to contain a part of the fetters of the fourth Shi'ite Imam, Hazrat Zainu'l-'Abidin. The Madrasah of Mahmud Gawan was damaged by a gun-powder explosion in 1696, but no explosion would be required for a large part of the *Daru'sh-shifa* to be razed to the ground. It is high time that just as the Madrasah at Bidar has been taken over by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, the Daru'sh-shifa should also be taken over by the government and conserved as the best secular building of the Qutb Shahi period. This would, of course, not come in the way of *alawa Sar Tauq* which is an entirely modern structure.

Daru'sh-shifa has been mentioned in *Q. S.*, 150-51 and *Mahnamah*, 301, where "nearly 400 patients" have been mentioned. There are short notices in *B. and W.* 564 and *Landmarks*, 25. Sha Rocco, *Golconda and the Qutb Shahs*, p. 14, is wrong when he says that the building is used to accommodate the Haidarabad Municipal offices. As a matter of fact, it was never so used. The author of the book was no doubt misled by the fact that the Municipal offices of Haidarabad are located in a comparatively recent building in the "Daru'sh-shifa" ward past the great structure of the locality. I am happy to refer to Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy's fine and informative article on 'Dar-us-Shifa (House of Cures) built by Sultan Muhammad-Quli in 1595', in the *Indian Journal of the History of Medicine*, December 1957. This article contains a number of drawings and photographs including one of a "reconstructed picture of the hospital as it would have appeared before it fell into ruins".

The MSS. of *Ikhtiyarat-i Qutbshahi*, belonging to the Royal Qutbshahi Library and with the autograph, signature and seal of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah, was exhibited by the late Hafiz Mahmud Shairani at the 8th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission and is fully described by the late Hakim Shamsu'l-lah Qadri in his *Ma'asir-i Dakan*, pp. 37-39.

The MSS. of Hakim Safiyu'd-din Gilani's book on sex, which was originally copied at Bardwan for Amjad 'Ali Shah, King of Oudh, is in the Rida Library, Rampur, U. P.



PLATE 1: Muhammad-Qulī Qutb Shah (from a miniature in the Haidarabad Museum). (Courtesy, Andhra Pradesh Archaelogical Department).

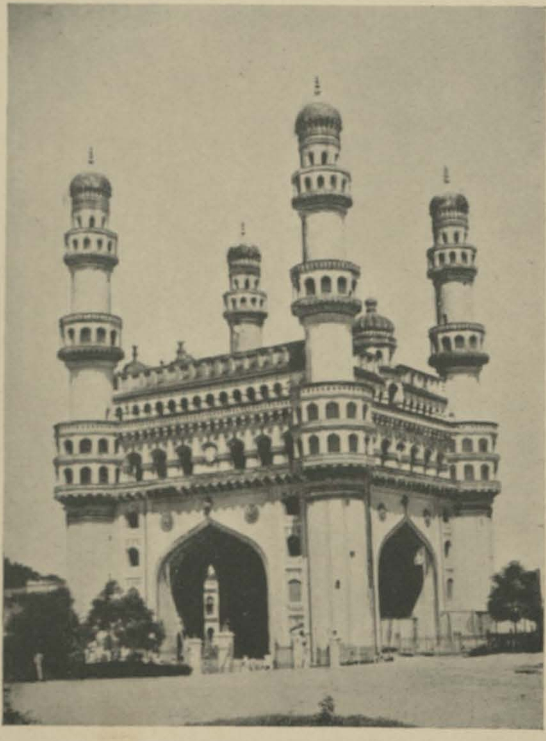


PLATE 2: The Chārmīnar. (Courtesy, Andhra Pradesh Archaelogical Department).



PLATE 3: The Purānā Pul, Haidarabad, constructed in 1578.



PLATE 4: Chārminar from the west.

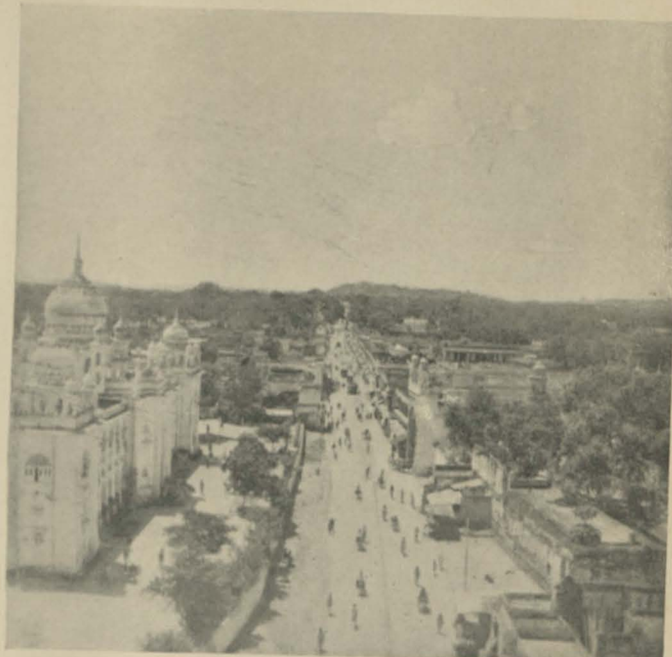


PLATE 5: Looking towards Koh-i-Tūr from Chārmīnar.

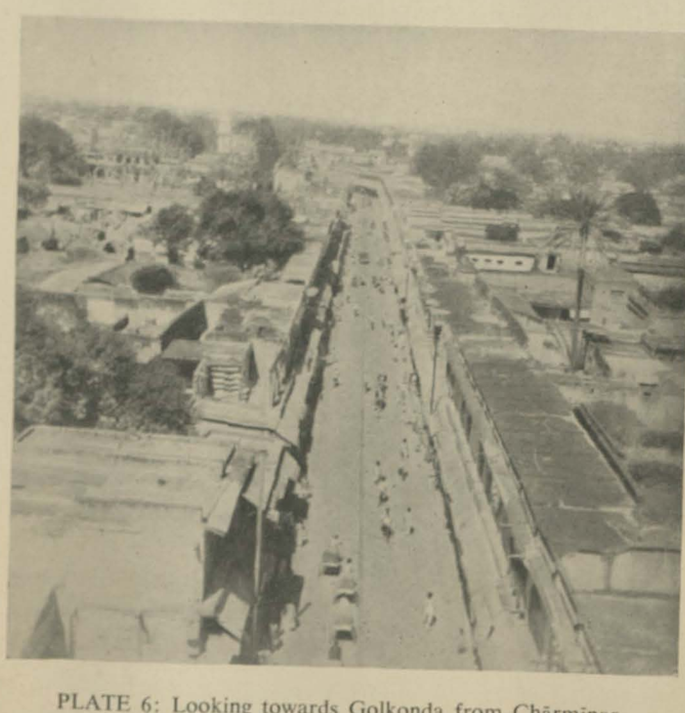


PLATE 6: Looking towards Golkonda from Chārmīnar.



PLATE 7: Mosque on the uppermost story of Chārmīnar.



PLATE 8: Ma'zanah on the top of Chārmīnar, from the central arch of the mosque.



PLATE 9: Two of the great arches enclosing the Jilūkhana or Chārkamān, Haidarabad.



PLATE 10: Jami Masjid, Haidarabad.



PLATE 11(a): Daru'sh-shifā, Haidarabad; Gateway. (Courtesy, Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy).



PLATE 11(b): Daru'sh-shifā, Haidarabad; The Southern wing. (Courtesy, Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy).

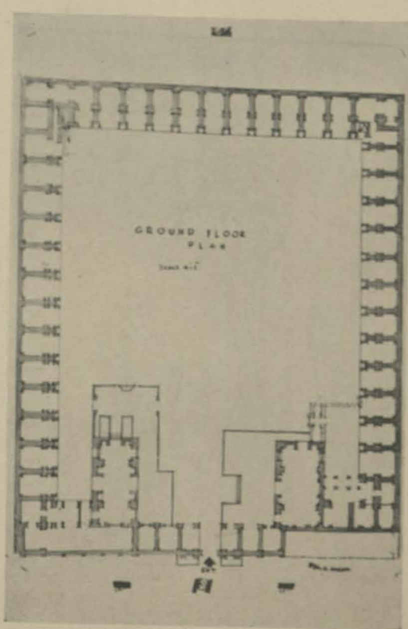


PLATE 11(c): Daru'sh-shifā, Haidarabad; Ground Plan. (Courtesy, Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy).

Works of public utility instituted by Muḥammad-Qulī included baths, caravanserais and schools. We have already dealt with the sarāi attached to the General Hospital; but it was not the only one. For we learn that even when the Sulṭān ordered the construction of the Chārmīnār, wide streets radiating from it and the thousands of shops, he did not forget the needs of the people who were to populate the new capital. Sarāis, schools and public baths were also built along with the palaces and state guest houses. One such sarāi was the *serai Ni'matu'llāh* where Thévenot stayed when he visited Haidarabad in 1666. While describing the location and the comfort of the *sarai* he says:

> "At the end of the Bridge we found the gates of the City .... We marched quarter of an hour through a long street with houses on both sides, but as low as those of the suburbs ... though they have very lovely gardens. We went to a carvanseray called Nematoolah which has an entry from the same street. Every one took his lodging there, and I hired two little chambers at two rupees a month .... The Caravansarays are nearly all handsome and the most esteemed is that which is called Nematoolah in the great street opposite the King's Garden."

Apart from such sarāis Tavernier says that mosques were also used as inns for travellers. *Ḥammāms* were also attached to these mosques such as the Jami' Masjid, and public buildings such as the General Hospital, where barbers paid by the State were ready for a hair cut, and clean towels were provided to those who came to have a bath.[41]

[41] *Wide Streets*; *Thevenot*, p. 133, says that the streets radiating from Charminar were of the same breadth as the height of the arches, i. e. thirty feet. *Ni'matu'llah Sarai*; Thevenot, 132, 133. It may be pointed out that this *sarai* was definitely situated on the road leading from the bridge to the centre of the city, not in the suburb of Karwan (which is four miles from Haidarabad in the direction of Golkonda), as the editor says in note 11 on p. 330. *Tavernier*, 123, says that mosques were also used as waiting halls for travellers. For hammams or public baths in general, see *Q. S.*, 249-50.

Chapter 3

FINE ARTS

Architecture and Calligraphy

WITH THE founding of Haidarabad and the construction of the basic buildings of the new capital it was only natural that the city should begin to spread its wings in all directions, and soon the countryside became dotted with caravanserais, mosques, and civil structures on the great arterial roads radiating from the Chārmīnār. Mīr Mu'min Astrābādi, who occupied the Peshwaship as early as 993/1588, and who was no doubt directly associated with the layout of the new capital, has left a number of edifices, both religious and civil, which he constructed on his own account within and without the city. Most of these buildings were erected in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī's successors Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh and 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh; but at least two mosques, one at Syedābād (now corrupted into Saidābāgh) and the other at Mīrpēt, may be regarded as typical. The Syedābād mosque is not a large structure by itself, the covered prayer hall being barely 30 feet by 21 feet and opening out into the court-yard by three arches. But it has one peculiarity which distinguishes it from many a larger and more imposing mosque, and it is the finely built quadrangle constructed more or less on the model of the great quadrangle of the Dāru'sh-Shifā in the capital, but on a much smaller scale. This quadrangle originally contained fifty-six covered rooms, most of which have now been filled in and almost destroyed. There are, however, seventeen rooms still remaining, and these furnish us with a picture of what the whole layout would be like. Two explanations can be given for this: it may have been used as a caravanserai; or it is quite possible that it served as a school for the children of the fast growing suburb on the direct road to the east coast. While Syedābād is a little over two miles from the centre of Haidarabad and a caravanserai would be quite apt there, we also know that every mosque of any pretensions had a school attached to it, and the rooms all round the mosque might well have served as a kind of boarding school where

both teachers and pupils lived together. It is clear from the beautiful inscription on black basalt over the niche of the mosque that it was erected in 1014/1605.[1]

The other typical mosque built by Mīr Mu'min in the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah is at Mīrpēt[2] about eight miles south-west of Haidarabad, and this shows in some way the extent to which the partially built up area of the capital had reached even during the life-time of the Sulṭan. This mosque is constructed more or less on the same pattern as the Syedābād mosque. The chronogram on the fine basalt inscription on the central niche records 1019/1610 as the date of its construction. The five years which elapsed between the construction of the Syedābād mosque and this one, have given a new look to the latter, and while the small arches which adorn the façades of both the mosques have increased in number in this case, two beautiful medallions also have been added to make it even more handsome. Moreover, instead of there being a quadrangle with cubicles right round the mosque we have here a vast rectangular area 216′ by 277′ surrounded by a high wall and pierced by a solitary gateway on the eastern side. It is possible that this compound was once covered by a garden.

The fine black basalt inscriptions in both the mosques contain certain Qur'ānic verses as well as the Shī'ite *darūd*, and are the work of the same calligraphist, Ḥusain b. Maḥmūd of Shiraz, who thanks to the patronage of Mīr Mu'min, rose to be the tutor of Prince 'Abdu'l-lāh, later 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah, in 1030/1621. The medallions in Mīrpēt mosque provide an interesting play on the word 'Mu'min'. This word, which was the Peshwa's name

[1] For Syedabad mosque, see *Hayat*, pp. 65, 70, 72. Dr. Zor's surmise that the rooms in the quadrangle served as a caravanserai is open to doubt. Syedabad is a suburb of Haidarabad on the road to Nalgonda; 17° 25′ N., 78° 33′ E.

[2] There are two villages of the name of *Mirpet:* one is about 9 miles north-east of Charminar a short distance from Maula 'Ali Railway Station at 17° 9′ N., 78° 32′ E. and is called Mirpeta in the Survey of India 2′ map 56 K/S. E., while the other is situated about 5 miles south-east of Charminar, a short distance from Zillu'l-lahguda (which has been corrupted into Jiladiguda), at 17° 26′ N., 78° 34′ E., and this is called Nirpet in the Survey of India map referred to. For the inscriptions on the mosques in these villages, which are extremely similar to each other, see *Hayat*, 91 ff.; also see *Landmarks*, 33 ff.

also, indicates a true Muslim. The right hand medallion has "Qāl-u'l-nabi-u-kaunain" ("So said the Prophet of the Two Worlds") while the left one reads. "Al-mumin ḥai fi-a'l-dārain" ("The Mu'min is alive in this life as well as the Hereafter," 1019).

But the building which may be said to epitomise the artistic temperament of Muḥammad-Qulī is his own mausoleum, for, it contains practically all the elements of his artistic genius in a short compass. Of all the imposing tombs of the rulers of the Quṭb-shāhi dynasty at the *Langar Ḥauz*, this tomb is definitely the most prominent and contains certain peculiarities which are not found in any other structure in the area. The main platform on which the mausoleum stands is eighteen feet from the ground, and, in order "to make the monument imposing, the artist has planned it on a double terrace", the upper terrace being 200 feet square. The dome reaches a height of 130 feet from the ground. The distinguishing mark of the structure is a beautiful colonnade, twenty-two feet high, which runs right round the mortuary chamber in the pillar and lintel style, and this was "designed in order to make the base symmetrical to the otherwise heavy dome. Moreover, there is a beautiful ornamental parapet running right round the roof relieved by turrets at the four corners which make the whole composition proportionate and symmetrical". The actual vault where the mortal remains of the King are buried, can be reached by steps from the terrace, and this is another prominent feature of the mausoleum.[3]

A description of the layout of Muḥammad-Qulī's Haidarabad would be incomplete without a consideration of the great necropolis which is even today known as the Dā'irā Mīr Mu'min or

[3] Quotation from *R. H A. D.*, 1918-19, p. 5. I venture to differ from the late author of the Report that the pillars of the gallery are too slender and detract from the symmetry of the building; as a matter of fact, the detraction would have been marked if their lines had been bolder than what they are. I feel that their very slenderness adds to the beauty of the composition and makes one concentrate more on the actual and innate features of the mausoleum than on the gallery, which is after all, an ornament and nothing more. See also *Landmarks*, 131, where the word 'dome' obviously stands for the mortuary chamber. The learned author of that book says that "the vaults of the other kings are closed", but a staircase leads to the actual grave of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, and an opening leads to the actual grave of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah. See also *E. I. M.*, 1915-16, p. 30; *B. & W.*, 520.

Mīr kā Dā'ira after the great Peshwa who planned it. It seems that Mīr Mu'min felt the need of a large burial ground immediately after the foundation of the new capital was laid and this was to be commensurate with the increasing population of the city. The grave of a saint, Shāh Chirāgh, was already there. Unfortunately, we do not know much about this saint except that, like many Muslim saints of old, he was a solitary Muslim living in the locality before the foundation of Haidarabad, and it is quite possible that his fame reached the Sulṭān and led him to look for the site south of the Mūsī where he could plan his new capital. However that may be, Mīr Mu'min enclosed a vast plot of land which was to serve as the necropolis for the new city and incidentally as its eastern boundary. He sanctified it by bringing some earth from Karbala, the site of Imām Ḥusain's martyrdom, and sprinkling it on the proposed necropolis.

Shāh Chirāgh must have died before the layout of Haidarabad, and, being the only cemetery which could be traced back to those days, it is very likely that among the thousands of graves there must be scores without an epitaph dating back to the very foundation of the city and perhaps even earlier. The first dated grave is that of Abū Turāb which has an epitaph giving us the date 1012/1603 and since then, many eminent statesmen, soldiers, *litterateurs*, poets and men of note have been buried there. Of course, the most prominent mausoleum, which is, however, without an epitaph, is that of Mīr Mu'min himself, who died in 1034/1625.[4]

Taking the whole scheme of architectural composition in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh into considetraion, there is no doubt that considerable advance has been made from the simple arch of the Jāmi' Masjid outside the Bālā Hisār Gate of the Golkonda Fort built in 924/1518, to the highly ornamental buildings of the New City. Stucco decorations which begin to gain some prominence in the mosque on the way of Bālā Hisār attributed to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, become markedly prominent

[4] For the Da'ira, see *Hayat*, 50, and for the prominent persons who lie buried there, *ibid.*, pp. 276-92. The statement in *Landmarks*, 47, that the Da'ira was laid out in 1037/1628 is obviously wrong, for on the next page the epitaph which dates back to 1017/1608 has been copied. For the Qutb shahi inscriptions in the Da'ira see also *E. I. M.*, 1935-36, p. 30. For a sketch of Mir Mu'min's life see Chapter 8, n. 31 below.

in the minarets of Chārmīnār, in the double arches of the mosque on the top of Chārmīnār, in the Jāmī' Masjid of Haidarabad and to a certain extent, in a more sedate and sombre manner, in the panels of Dāru'sh-Shifā. The 'double arches' are really formed by the super-imposition of a false cusped arch over the simple arch. The use of the dome is not prominent in the buildings constructed in the new capital except in the dome-like arched roof of the Chārmīnār, a semblance of domes on the top of the four minarets, and on the rather dwarfed minarets of the Jāmi' Masjid, but it makes its forceful appearance on the tomb of the Sulṭān where it rises magnificently to a height of sixty feet from its base. Another characteristic featur of some of the buildings of the city are enamelled tiles of the most approved Persian pattern, which were perhaps tried in some of the Golkonda tombs and which show out magnificently in the Bādshāhī 'Ashūrkhana constructed by Muḥammad-Qulī immediately after the completion of the Chārmīnār. This form of decoration combines intricate geometrical and floral designs as well as some pieces of calligraphy, and the tradition was continued right up to the end of the dynasty and even into the period covered by the early Aṣafjāhs.[5]

This brings us to the development of calligraphy under Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. The buildings constructed during the reign are inscribed with practically all the known styles, namely *Nasta'līq*, *Naskh*, *Kūfī*, *Tughra* and *Suls*, and some of the inscriptions are remarkable for their proportions and regularity. As has been noted above, Dr. Yazdani says that the inscription on the detached gateway of the Jāmi' Masjid "represents perhaps the finest example of the nasta'līq in the Deccan", while the inscription round the prayer niche of the same mosque, which is in the hand of Muḥammad Fakhkhār Shīrāzī and contains a series of verses from the second chapter of the Qur'ān, "is a good specimen of the ornamental Naskh".[6] Most of the inscriptions on the mosques are either verses from the Qur'an, Shī'ite *darūds* invoking God's Blessings on Muḥammad and the twelve Imams, or else invocations to 'Alī, and it is no wonder that the scribes, who were mostly from Iran and themselves belonged to the Shī'ah persuasion,

[5] For inscriptions in the Badshahi 'Ashurkhana extending right up to 1250/1834, see *Landmarks*, pp. 21-24.

[6] *E. I. M.*, 1917-18, p. 43.

should have executed the work allotted to them with so much fervour and excellence.

It was not merely on edifices constructed under direct royal orders that eminent calligraphists were commissioned to execute inscriptions but even mosques in villages like Syedābād and Mīrpēt have inscriptions in fine *suls* from the pen of such a distinguished calligraphist as Ḥusain b. Maḥmūd Shirazi.

The inscriptions on tombs such as those of the Sulṭān and his brother Muḥammad Amīn naturally consist not merely of verses from the Qur'ān but also the name and date of the death of the person buried. The calligraphy on Muḥammad Amīn's sarcophagus represents the *Kūfī*, the *Suls* as well as the *Tughra* styles, while on the Sulṭān's own sarcophagus his name as well as the date of his death are inscribed in *naskh*. Muḥammad Amīn's grave is distinguished by a beautiful Arabic composition which may be freely translated here as an illustration of the piety of the Prince who was the father of Muḥammad-Qulī's successor, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh:[7]

> "Controller of the death of the haughty and the powerful! Save me from the (eternal) fire through the light of Thy countenance.
>
> "To Thee I have been entrusted by my friends, companions and supporters;
>
> "In a dark pit, desolate, dreadful, I lie, stranger and solitary, under a load of stones.

[7] It is impossible to convey the beauty of the sonorous Arabic lines in the English translation, for which see *E. I. M.*, 1915-16, p. 30; photograph of the original on Pl. VII. For other specimens see *ibid.*, Pl. VI (*tughra*), Pl. VIII (*kufi*), *Landmarks*, opp. p. 27 (*nasta'liq*), *Hayat*, opp. p. 72 and 92 (*suls*). For a distinction between these styles of calligraphy Dr. Yazdani says "the ornamental naskh, which, in a simple form, assumed the name of thulth, but when becoming intricate and pictorial, was styled tughra"; *E. I. M.*, 1917-18, p. 43. The Kufi had in course of time come to be used for purely decorative purposes and consisted mostly of straight and some curved lines. Nasta'liq is the script in ordinary use in Urdu and Persian at least so far as calligraphy is concerned; but, as its complicated artistic features do not allow it to be reproduced in type with any success, it has been replaced by naskh in Iran. Here it should be remembered that naskh was widely used for Persian and Dakhni in the Qutbshahi period, and such works as Muhammad-Qulis *Kulliyat* and Wajhi's *Qutb-Mushtari* were originally transcribed in that script.

"Benevolent! Omnipotent! I am Thy humble guest, and Thou the most hospitable host;
"So, through Thy grace, deal with one with forgiveness, and accord me a place near Thee.
"Kings, when their slaves grow old, free them with the freedom of the best in the land;
"And no one can equal Thee, O Lord, in Thy quality of being generous; I have grown old in Thy service, so, save me from the eternal fire."

Painting

It was only natural that Golkonda-Haidarabad, and the capital of the adjoining State, Bijapur, should be the homes of what is usually called the *dakhnī qalam* of painting. Although Goa and the Portuguese settlements on the sea coast were within comparatively easy reach of Golkonda and Bijapur, yet the political gulf which separated the two Kingdoms from these settlements made them averse to be influenced even culturally by them. It was only when the Mughals had penetrated into the Deccan that European influence, which had already affected Mughal miniatures and paintings, was felt in these two Kingdoms. Till then what was known as the *dakhnī qalam* persisted.[8]

[8] *Dakhni Qalam:* "Miniatures in this style are identified by their small character both in the actual size and also in the treatment generally. Gold is frequently used, and in the richness of effect it is more splendid than the Delhi Kalm to which it is closely allied," Percy Brown, *Indian Painting*, p. 76. Dr. H. Goetz is probably right when he says (Notes on a Collection of Historical Portraits from Golkonda, *Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. X, No. 1, 1936, p. 19) that "all datable products of the (Deccan) school belong to the time of Sultan Abul Hasan though the school originated in the time of Abdullah." In the portraits of this school the "outlines are bold, strongly marked and colours bright, and much use is made of gold, often rather crudely, and there is a tendency to exaggerate facial features." Goetz's final judgment seems to run counter to Percy Brown's. It is not clear how he came to the conclusion that facial features seem to have a tendency to be "exaggerated." Profusion of gold is no doubt marked, but at least so far as Golkonda is concerned it might have been symbolic of the affluence of the State.

Three portraits of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah, one facing the right and two facing the left, are housed in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Both are conventional Dakhni miniatures with haloes round the face and the usual

Most of the extant miniatures of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh belong to this category. Only some of them have been signed by the artists. The portraits in the group reproduced in Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, opp. p. 314, as well as nearly all the portraits of Mughal rulers and nobles in that book were painted by the Agra artist, Mīr Maḥmūd and are therefore Mughal in their technique and execution.[9] Then there is at least one portrait of the King by Hāshim, the portrait painter at the court of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and his name "may stand as that of the foremost exponent of the Deccan style of painting".[10] Muḥammad-Qulī's likeness in the two group portraits, one by Manucci and the other in the Haidarabad State Museum, which depict all the monarchs of Golkonda flanking their ancestor Sulṭān-Qulī *Baṛē Malik*, must naturally have been executed after Muḥammad-Qulī's death in the time of the last Quṭb-shāhī ruler, Abu'l Hasan Quṭb Shāh, if not even later. In both these groups Muḥammad-Qulī is shown as a mere boy, perhaps in order to contrast his face with those of his father and grand father. In the Manucci group the artist has not shown Muḥammad-Qulī dressed in the Mughal costume in which Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm and Abu'l-Hasan are dressed, but in the *dakhnī* costume of the period, i.e. with a long embroidered *angavastram* or stole over his shoulders. The stole has borders of brocade and its texture is so fine that both the *jāmā* and the tight gaudy *pāijāma* show through it. On the head is a rather undersized turban, much smaller than the usual Mughal turban, with a broad embroidered *sarpēch* keeping the folds in place. Round the waist is a golden belt, of which only the jewel-studded buckle is visible.

thin muslin stole with a flowery border thrown over the shoulders. The *dastar* is small, just covering the head. One of the portraits, however, depicts the monarch in his youth with a fresh look while in another he is shown as a prematurely old man with an unshaven beard and a drooping moustache. These miniatures have been described by Dr. Goetz in his *Notes, op. cit.*, as well as in his *Indian and Persian Paintings in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum*, pp. 24 and 40.

[9] For this group see Sherwani, Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-mulk, Part III, *Journal of Indian History*, August, 1956, notes 135 and 136.

[10] Stella Kramrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, p. 119. As the authoress says on p. 219, n. 21, this portrait has been reproduced in colour as frontispiece by Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 2nd edition, and by Stchoukine, *La Painture Indienne a l'Epoque des Grands Mogols*, (Pl. XXX). See also Barrett, *Paintings of Deccan*, (Pl. 8).

The group portrait in the Haidarabad State Museum is remarkable in that it is the only group in which the founder of the dynasty is shown as a youth. It is a dakhnī composition *par excellence* with a profusion of gold ornamentation. The throne of Sulṭān-Qulī, his dress, the hems of the dress of all others present, the umbrellas and many other things are profusely decorated with gold. In addition to this, there is calligraphy in both Arabic and in Dakhnī. As the central figure is of a youthful Sulṭān-Qulī, the painter has managed to paint all other rulers of the dynasty as just young men, younger in appearance than the progenitor of the House. Muḥammad-Qulī, the last figure to the left of the group, is shown as a handsome youth, with a shaven chin and slightly long moustaches. It should be noted that in this composition there are no haloes round the heads of any ruler and that the face of the last Quṭb-Shāh, Abu'l-Hasan has been completely obliterated. This probably indicates that the group was conceived after the fall of Golkonda in 1687 or just before, and reminds one that the Mughals never recognised the rulers of Golkonda as kings but only as local chieftains.[11]

The two solo portraits of Muḥammad-Qulī[12] in the Haidarabad Museum stand on their own plane. One of them is a miniature in the traditional Mughal style, 7.5″×5.2″ in size with a plain buff border showing the profile of the king standing. It depicts the face of a sedate young man with very small moustaches and a semblance of growth on his cheeks and chin. His head is covered with a regulation Mughal *dastār*, vermilion in colour, with a bejewelled *sarpēch* bordered with pearls and a black aigrette drooping at the back. The head is surrounded by the traditional halo. In the right hand is a flower while the left is gripping the hilt of a

11 This group is reproduced in colour in the *Catalogue of the Exhibition held at the Hyderabad House, New Delhi* in April, 1952, published by the Government of Haiderabad. Here it may be mentioned that the halo was borrowed from portraits of Christ and the Virgin Mary which began to be imported along with other European pictures in Jahangir's reign. These paintings began to exercise a marked influence in the reign of Shah Jahan. The *jama* was generally made of transparent muslin, while the stole was peculiar to the dress of the people of the Deccan.

12 This portrait, which is in the Hyderabad State Museum, is marked p.2246. I am thankful to the Director of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh, for having allowed me to publish it.

sword. A *kaṭār* or dagger with a square hilt is tucked into a *kamarband* with a *pallū* in brocade. A fine muslin stole of the finest texture with embroidered border is thrown over the shoulders in the traditional Andhra fashion. The arms are bedecked with armlets inlaid with pearls and precious stones, while there are strings of pearls and precious stones adorning the neck. In spite of the dignity and beauty of the portrait, very little use is made of gold ornamentation which is one of the peculiarities of the *dakhnī qalam*. The whole composition leaves a pleasant feeling in one's mind and is certainly the best extant portrait of the monarch.

Chapter 4

LITERARY PATRONAGE

Telugu

Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb shāh was born and bred in the heart of Tilangana and nurtured by that great patron of Telugu, Ibrāhīm. So it is no wonder that he also patronised Telugu which must have been like a mother-tongue to him.[1] He must have been quite fluent in that language for, in a number of instances, he uses Telugu words even when composing poetry in Dakhni-Urdu.[2] He also carried forward the tradition of employing non-Muslims to some of the highest posts in the government, and as most of them were Telugūs by race and language, it follows that in his court, little distinction must have been made in the patronage offered to one language and another. We find that the Sulṭān appointed Paṭṭa-meṭṭa Somayaju Kavī as the Poet-Laureate of the Kingdom,[3] while another Telugu poet, Ganēsha Paṇḍitulu became the *Kutubshahi Samasthāna Panditulu* or the Head Pandit of the Quṭb-shāhi State.[4] Another person of note in literary

[1] Here it may be noted that the tradition of having bilingual announcements and farmans, i. e. both in Persian and in Telugu, had already started during Ibrahim's reign. Thus there is a bilingual farman inscribed on the bund of the tank at Panagal, and it is significant that while the Persian part of the inscription is dated just 971 H., the date given in the Telugu part is much fuller namely "month of Maghamu, 15 S., Somwar, 1472 Saka". Moreover, it is only in the Telugu version that an interesting division is made of the extra produce expected to be obtained consequent on the construction of the bund: the King was to have one out of 4½ parts of the produce, 'the people' 1½ and the Muslims and the Brahmans 1 part ecah.

[2] There is neither any evidence nor tradition to show that Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah ever composed poetry in Telugu; it is not known how Dr. Zor in his *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, p. 359 and Prof. Siddiqui in his *History of Golconda*, p. 384, seem to hope that the Sultan's Telugu *diwan* might yet be unearthed.

[3] *Shatchakravartulu Charitram*, by Raja Malla Reddi, edited by Pedda Mandadi Venkatakrishna Kavi, Secunderabad, 1926, Intr., p. 4. The learned editor is obviously mistaken when he says that it was 'Muhammad Padushah' who was reigning in S.S. 1540-1618; it was really Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah.

[4] K. Lakshmiranjanam; *Andhra Sahitya Charitra Sangrahamu*, p. 145.

circles, Kāmi Reḍḍī, "was granted jewels, palanquin, *morchhal* and *chatar*" by the Sulṭān. Kāmi Reḍḍī was a patron of Telugu in his own way, and his ward and relative, Malla Reḍḍī has left *Sivadharmōttaramu* and *Padmapurānamu,* both of which are worthy compositions in the language.[5]

We have also an interesting devotional story, *Vaijayanti Vilāsamū* or *Vipranarāyana Charitra* from the pen of Sarangu Tamayyamatendu or Tamma Mantri, who was *karnam* in the old capital, Golkonda, at the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.[6] Tamma says that he was a descendant of Bhāskara, and his father is said to have been a man of means and "known all over the land". In the preface to the book which is novelesque in its plot, the author says that Muḥammad Shāh's (meaning Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's) name was the most resplendent among all the kings of the epoch. The *janapati* (common people) as well as the *rammu pommana* (those who came and went), all prayed for the *Jayaveṭṭu* or success of the Sultān and the State. Although Tamma was only a *karnam* he says that he lived a life of ease and comfort.

The story which Tamma relates is doubly interesting as it demonstrates the orthodoxy of the Hindu officials of the population and is, besides, a typical composition of the period. Tamma says that one day he felt the presence of a person with a resplendent golden body and a crown on his head. The person was none other than Shrī Rāmachandra himself who related the story of Vipranārāyana bidding Tamma to take it down. The story is as follows:

> Vipranārāyana was a Vaishnava Brahmachāri of Srīrangapaṭam on the Kavērī. He had a flower garden at his *kuṭī* and

[5] *Shatchakravartulu Charitram:* Intr., p. 4.

[6] Sarangu Tammagyamatendu, *Vaijayanti Vilasamu* (*Vipranarayana Charitra*), edited by Kandukuri Virasilingam, Rajahmundri, 1924.

In his illuminating article entitled *Sarangu Timmayya: Girvana bhashaseva*, included in Shanti (*Sahitya Sankalanamu*, published in commemoration of Smt· Adi Lakshmamma of Guntur, in 1961), Dr. Rama Raju conclusively proves (pp. 670-71) that Tamayya lived in the time of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah and not in the time of Muhmud Shah Bahmani, a theory which was propounded by Chaganti Seshayya in his *Kantarangini*, VIII, pp. 53-56. Dr. Rama Raju says on p. 671 that Tamayya was not an odrinary *karnam* or village official, but a *pedda karnam* of the capital, an officer who was like the modern mayor of a city and one "who would perform the duties of a minister (*mantritvamu*)" and who had direct dealings with the Sultan himself.

he lived on the income from the flowers he sold to Sri Rāma's devotees. There were two courtesans named Madhuravāni and Devadēvi living at Srīrangapaṭam. The younger of them wanted to entice the holy man but did not succeed at first. She was, however, so sure of her charms that she vowed that if she did not succeed in her attempt, she would give up her profession. She thereupon dressed herself like a devotee and went to Vipranārāyana; she told him that she had given up the life of a *vaisya* and that she would like to serve him as his *dāsī*. In course of time she was so much taken up by the piety of the holy man that she even surpassed him. Vipranārāyana was so much taken up by her piety that he actually consented to go to her house even as a domestic servant. Thus Dēvadēvi fulfilled her vow. But she was a changed woman; she refused to re-enter her base profession to the great chagrin of her mother who locked her up in a room and drove Vipranārāyana out of the house. Vipranārāyana now went to his kuṭī and prayed till Brahma himself appeared in the guise of a brahman and gave him gold ornaments which Vipranārāyana took to the Devadevi's mother. When the saint was accused of theft and was about to be killed Brahma appeared before the executioner and declared that Vipranārāyana was absolutely blameless.

Although Telugu literature of Tilangana during Muḥammad-Qulī's reign may not have attained the heights it reached during the reign of Ibrāhīm, still there is no doubt that when he ascended the throne, the young monarch, like his father, extended his patronage to Telugu.

Dakhnī

The reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh forms a distinct landmark in the development of the Urdu language. There is hardly any question of a mere 'patronage' of Dakhnī, as the Sulṭān himself was a poet of no mean merit in that language, and the fifty thousand odd lines, which he is said to have composed, are remarkable for the ever-changing vista of life they represent. Before Muḥammad-Qulī, all that we have of the new literary language in the Deccan is just passing references to Maḥmūd, Aḥmad and Mullā Khiyālī, while recently a valuable manuscript of Firōz's

Paratnāmah has been discovered.[7] But here was a poet who was mature enough to write poetry on practically all the topics known to him, from the sublime and the religious to the profane and the nude. Candidness and frankness of the poet at times makes the reader one with him. It appears that there are no metrical forms which Muḥammad-Qulī did not know for he has composed odes, dirges, quatrains, *masnavīs* and *ghazals* with the same ease. From the praise of God, the Prophet and 'Alī, he passes on to the mundane and the profane with facility and describes his amours, with the same freedom and *nonchalance* as he describes the beauties of nature and the vast palaces that he built.[8]

Muḥammad-Qulī was to Tilang and the Deccan what Geoffrey Chaucer was to England; but while Chaucer's vision was limited to a certain extent, Muḥammad-Qulī's vision included almost everything that existed round him. Being of a romantic bent of mind, the love of the profane had become an obsession with him even to the extent of morbidity, but this was curiously intertwined with an intense belief in God and a reverence for Shī'ism to the exclusion of other forms of Islam. The result of all this is a peculiar feature of his poems; for even those poems in which he describes his indulgence in wine and women, he ends by an invocation to God and an appeal for umbrage in the Prophet and 'Ali. Thus the piece beginning with

اب مست اچھے دائم همین مست اچھنیگا هنگام هے
ساقی صراحی نقل هور پیالے سو همنا کام هے

ends with the invocation:

[7] See Sherwani, 'Cultural and Administrative Set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah', *Islamic Culture*, July, 1957, at page 247. Dr. Nazir Ahmad has recently discovered a very valuable seven-paged MSS. of Firoz's *Paratnamah* in the library of the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Aligarh; see *Urdu Adab*, Aligarh, June, 1957, pp. 88-96.

[8] See the excellent article of Dr. Maulvi 'Abdu'l-Haq on 'Kulliyat Muhammad-Quli-Qutb Shah', *Urdu*, July, 1922, pp. 13-37; also *Kulliyat Sultan Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, ed. Dr. Zor, Haidarabad, 1940; Zor, *Dastan Adab Haidarabad*, 1951; Nasiru'd-din Hashimi, *Dakan men Urdu*, 4th edition, Lahore, 1952.

قطبا نبی کے ادھار تھے رحمت ھے نت کرتا رھے[9]

تو تج علی کے پیار تھے تلتل نوا انعام ھے

And the poem addressed to Lālan ends:

نبی صدقے کرون آپ دل سون سیوا   قطب شہ کا کہ ھے شاھاں مین موزون

Again, although he is fully conversant with the literary masterpieces of Persia and has translated scores of Hāfiz's *ghazals* in Dakhnī poetry, he is aware of his own position in the literary world of his day and boldly asserts:

"Thou shouldst know that Quṭb Shāh is the very axis of the school to which Khāqānī and Nīzāmī belonged;
And thou doest repeat before him the stories related by Firdausi in the Shāhnāmah."
"Poets are in the habit of claiming their excellence through their own personal merit.
"While it is the Almighty Himself who has endowed me, Ma'āni, with the capacity to compose poetry of such a high standard."
"Thy poetry, O Ma'āni is like an ornament and a jewel set among stones of an inferior quality;

[9] *Urdu, op. cit.*, p. 23. I have not been able to find this poem in the printed edition of the *Kulliyat*. The reason seems to be that Dr. Zor's edition is mainly based on the MSS in the Salar Jung Library which, as the editor himself says, is incomplete (*Kulliyat*, 'Introduction', p. 335), while Dr. 'Abdu'l-Haq's article is based on the MSS. in the Asafiyah Library which was copied by Syed Muhiyu'd-din in Rajab 1025/July 1616, and which was later removed to H.E.H. the Nizam's private Library at King Kothi, Haidarabad. The metrical translations of Hafiz's ghazals by the Sultan has been analysed by Dr. Zor on pp. 46-51. The poem addressed to Lalan will be found in *Kulliyat*, pp. 252-53. A free rendering of the quotations is given below:

"We are entirely off our senses, and this is verily the time for getting lost in drinks. For, now we have only to enjoy to our heart's content the presence of the Cup-bearer, the goblet and the condiments to make us merry."

"O Qutb, thou art ever blessed by the Grace of God through the benevolence and kindness of the Prophet;

And as thou hast the love of 'Ali nearest thy heart thou art doubly blessed by never-ending favours."

Thy poetry is like the crown of Khusrau Parvīz raised high above the poems of Ḥafiz."[10]

It is not merely his amours that he has a heart. For, when he begins to describe the phenomena of nature, he goes far ahead of the times and, but for the language which is naturally archaic, he becomes intensely modern. Wordsworth's words, "to me the meanest flower that blows can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears",[11] can well be said of Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shah. He has written poems on the rainy season, winter and summer, on gardens, groves and parks, on fruits and vegetables and on such commonplace household things as coriander and asafoetida; and he has definitely taken the cue from purely Indian objects around himself. He welcomes the first showers of the year which make everything young again and usher in the season of green grass and scented blossoms, thus:

گرجا ھے میگھ سر تھے تازہ ھوا ھے مستان
پھولون کی باس پایا بلبل ھزار دستان
اے خوش خبر صبا تون لے جا جوان قدان کن
چمناق کی آرزو مین بیٹھے ھین ھے پرستان
وہ نونہال پھولان ھے جام خوے سو بادہ
نرگس اپس پلک سون جھاڑو کرے شبستان

In the praise of the garden he had laid, called the Bāgh-i Muḥammad-Shāhī he says:

محمدنا نون سے بستا محمد کا رے بن سارا
سو طوبان سون سہاتا ھے جنت تمنے چمن سارا
سڑك تھے باغ کون دیکھت کھلے منج باغ کے غنچے
سو اس غنچے کے باسان تھے لگیا جگ مگ مگن سارا

[10] The three lines, freely rendered into English, will be found respectively in *Kulliyat*, Nazmen, p. 228 and in ghazals 12 and 27. Evidently Dr. 'Abdu'l-Haq overlooked these lines when he said that "Muhammad-Quli was not prone to self-adulation" (*Urdu*, 1922, p. 18).

[11] Quoted in Taine, *History of English Literature*, III, p. 446.

سو خوشے داکھہ لاکھاں کے ثریا سنبلا ھے جون
سہے اس داکھہ منڈوا سو جیا امبر کہن سارا
کھجوران کے دسین جھو نکے که جون مرجان کے پنجے
سپاریان لعل خوشے جون دسین دن ھور رین سارا
دسین جامون کے پھل بن مین نیلم کے نمن سالم
نظر لاکے نه تیون میویان کون راکھیا ھے جتن سارا[۱۲]

12

These are only some specimens of this 'Poet of Nature'. If we go deep into his poetry we would find that the utter lack of reserve he has shown in the intimate description of his love is due to his habit of describing whatever came before him, whether it was a garden of vegetables or the person he loved or the one he ridiculed.[13] His poems depict the festivals, both of the Hindus and the Muslims, in which he joins as freely as any of his subjects and incidentally transports the reader to the life in Haidarabad nearly four hundred years ago. So far as the vocabulary is concerned,

[12] For this and the last extract see *Kulliyat*, Nazmen, p. 199 and Qasa'id, p. 14. The lines may be freely rendered as follows:

1. "Clouds are again roaring and gardens are again becoming fresh, And the bulbul of a thousand tunes has again smelt the scent of flowers.
"O gentle breeze, bearer of glad tidings, carry the news to the youth, that the worshippers of the juice are waiting for the green of the landscape to appear.
"Youthful flowers, which have the brilliant dew as their perspiration, Which the narcissus sweeps away by its very eyelids."
2. "It is the name of the Prophet himself which has been given to this wood;
And for that reason the Park, which is like the Paradise itself appears like the home of many a *tuba* each bearing myriad fruit.
"When I espied the garden from the roadside I felt as if all the buds of my own being began to ope out,
And the bower of the grape vine is spread out like the very Milky Way in the firmament.
"The clusters of dates appear as if they are claws in a coral,
While the betelnuts look like clusters of ruby by day as by night.
"The fruit of the guava tree seems to have been made of sapphire,
And my whole endeavour is that the trees I have planted should not suffer under an evil eye."

[13] For a specimen of this ridicule see *Kulliyat*, p. 315.

Muḥammad-Qulī's language is interspersed with Persian, Arabic and Hindi words throughout, so much so that while the Urduists claim him as their poet, the protagonists of Hindi say that he is the representative of the earlier stages of their language. It cannot be denied that structure of his poems, especially of his ghazals, has been taken directly from the Persian, and it is this characteristic which makes his ghazals so mellow, lilting and musical. An oft-quoted piece may give the reader the impression that his poems even now create in the minds of the Urdu knowing public in spite of their archaic form:

پیا باج پیالا پیا جائے نا   پیا باج یک تل جیا جائے نا
کبیتھے پیا بن صبوری کرون   کھیا جائے اما کیا جائے نا
نہین عشق جس وہ بڑا کوڑ ہے   کدھین اس سے مل بیسیا جائے نا
قطب شہ نہ دے منج دوانے کو پند   دوانے کو کچ پند دیا جائے نا[14]

14

While judging the part Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh played in the development of Dakhni, we must remember that he was the first author of a *diwān* in the language not merely in Tilang, but in the whole of south India. His poetry shows a maturity which fills some of our most eminent *litterateurs* with amazement.[15] He belongs to an epoch when Urdu had not even been given the name by which the language is known today, and not merely his vocabulary but also his similes and metaphors as well as his disdain to inhibitions would seem strange to our ears. But we should

[14] *Kulliyat*, ghazal, 23. This may be freely rendered as follows, although most of the music and charm of the original is lost in the translation:

> "Beloved! How can I put my lips to the goblet without thee?
> How can I live even an instant without thee?
> "Beloved! How can I be patient when thou art gone;
> For thou well knowest that I can neither utter a sound nor yet take a step when thou art not by my side.
> "No one can be so utterly ignorant of life than the one who has never been ensnared by love,
> And I would never think of having anything to do with such a one.
> "O Qutb Shah, why waste thy time in giving advice to an insane,
> For thou knowest well it would fall on deaf ears."

[15] Thus Dr. 'Abdu'l-Haq in *Urdu*, 1922, p. 14.

judge him by the literary standards of the day and not try to gauge by modern standards which would be anachronistic.

The other poet and romancist of note who wrote in Dakhni-Urdu in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī, is Wajhī or, as he sometimes calls himself Wajīhī. Wajhī has at least two books to his credit, namely *Sabras* in prose and the masnawi, *Quṭb-Mushtarī*, in poetry.[16] He wrote his prose work late in his life when he was the court poet of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, and, as we are at present concerned with Muḥammad-Qulī's reign and the background of the foundation of Haidarabad, we would discuss only *Quṭb-Mushtarī* here. This book was compiled in 101811609, that is a little over two years before the Sulṭān's death. As the editor of the work says, the reference to the Sulṭān's father Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, and the praise he bestows upon him as a just king does not mean that he began to compose the *masnawī* in Ibrāhīm's reign. For Wajhī clearly states that it took him barely twelve days to complete the romance.[17] The reference to Ibrāhīm may therefore be regarded as a kind of historic present, by which artifice the author takes the reader back to the previous reign and describes Ibrāhīm's character as if he was alive when he wrote his book. The other book, *Sabras*, was written in 1045, nearly fifty-eight years after Ibrāhīm's death, and it is very unlikely that Wajhī was more than a boy in Ibrāhīm's reign if at all he was born then. In any case there is no doubt that he did not commence his book during Ibrāhīm's reign.

In Muḥammad-Qulī's Kulliyāt we find a variety of topics classed

[16] For Wajhi and his romance, see *Qutb-Mushtari*, edited by Dr. 'Abdu'l-Haq, Karachi, 1953; Zor, *Urdu Shahpare*, pp. 86-98; Zor, *Dastan-i Adab-i Haidarabad*, p. 20; Sarwari, *Urdu Masnawi ka Irtiqa*, pp. 64-67; Hashimi, *Dakan men Urdu*; Raf'iyah Sultana, *Urdu nasr Fort William Kalij se pahle*, which is the doctoral thesis of the talented lady and which has a valuable discussion of the position which Wajhi holds in the history of Urdu literature. In the Introduction to the masnawi Dr. 'Abdu'l-Haq attributes a third book, *Taju'l-Haqa'iq* to Wahjhi, but Dr. Rafi'ah Sultana contradicts this statement and says that the book is from the pen of another person, Wajihu'd-din Gujarati.

[17] *Qutb-Mushtari*, p. 96. Nasiru'd-din Hashimi, the learned author of *Dakan men Urdu*, says on p. 74 that Wajhi began to compose his poetry in the time of Ibrahim Qutb Shah; but later, on the same page, he asserts that *Qutb-Mushtari* was compiled in 1018. He seems to have overlooked the line in the printed edition of the masnawi, p. 96, although the Introduction to the printed edition was published as long ago as 1938.

under their proper headings. But Wajhī introduces a number of topics inter-twined with the central romance and makes the story generally interesting but at times boring. As Wajhī grew old he became steeped in moral philosophy and in the value of morality in human life; but even in *Quṭb-Mushtarī* he has a definite leaning towards the ethical side of life, although the story is based on the supposed love of the King to Mushtarī, the Princess of Bengal. His *obiter dicta* include such topics as the desideratum for poetic compositions, the need of love in life, a number of ghazals thrown in at random with hardly any connection with the story, certain most unrealistic suppositions such as when he makes the gift of the Kingdom of Bengal to one Mirrīkh Khān, and so on. In the appendix are found a series of adventures attributed to Muḥammad-Qulī where certain most impossible personages are introduced. The book is, on the whole, couched in fairly sedate language even when the author describes in great detail the consummation of the marriage of the Sulṭān with the Princess of Bengal.[18] The story, which is a pure romance, may be epitomised as follows:

> It so happened that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (whom Wajhī calls Rājā Adhirāj) had no issue for a long time. So when he did have an issue, whom he named Muḥammad-Qulī or "the Servant of the Prophet", there were great rejoicings in the state. When the Prince grew up he proved so intelligent that it was not long before he became as a *savant*, a poet and a calligraphist of note. Being of an amorous nature, he soon began to indulge in drink, song and dance. One night he dreamt of a beautiful girl with whom he fell in love immediately, and the thought of the girl would not leave him even when he was awake. He consulted his friend and companion 'Utārad the painter, and both of them left home in search of the girl. After going through innumerable hardships they reached the Kingdom of Bengal where they at last found the girl of Muḥammad-Qulī's dream. She was a princess in her own right and her name was Mushtarī. 'Utārad managed

[18] *Qutb-Mushtari*, pp. 94-96. In the fictitious romance woven round Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah it is strange that while he is called by his royal name throughout the book, he finds both his father and his mother alive when he returns home from Bengal with his bride. This will be found on p. 90.

to get himself introduced to those in charge of the Palace and also to get a commission to paint the apartments of the Princess. He was able to introduce the figure of Muḥammad-Qulī in his composition, and when Mushtarī saw it she was so much taken up by it that she swooned of the love she felt for the person shown in the painting. At last Muḥammad-Qulī was able to persuade her to accompany him to Haidarabad where they were married with great pomp .... And they lived happily ever after."

The whole structure of the romance turns round the person of Muḥammad-Qulī who is the pivotal actor in the drama. It would be noticed that all the other actors and actresses are purely fictitious and allegorical. In consonance with the dynastic title of the Sulṭān, namely Quṭb or the Pole-Star, Wajhī gives all the other *dramatis personae* astronomical names. The boon companion of Quṭb, is 'Utārad or Mercury, who is the *dabīr-i-Falak* or the Heavenly Secretary according to Persian mythology; the Princess of Bengal whom the prince loves and who is finally married to him, is Mushtarī or Jupiter, the largest planet in the Solar System; *Mirrīkh* or Mars, called the *Turk-i-Falak* (Heavenly soldier) or *Jallād-i-Falak* (Heavenly Executioner) by the Persians, is the name given to the strong man to whom the Sulṭān entrusts the Kingdom of Bengal; a girl, *Zuhrā* or Venus, comes into the life of the Sulṭān, and as is well known, Venus is the most resplendent of all the planets in the firmament, second only to the moon in brilliance; lastly *Māhtāb* or the Moon, the solitary natural satellite of the earth, is the name of another girl with whom Quṭb comes into contact. All these *personae* revolve round Quṭb, in the same way as the stars in the firmament seem to rotate round the Pole-Star. Obviously the whole romance is fictitious. As for the young Prince, he has been brought in for a number of reasons. Firstly, his dynastic title served as an inspiration to the author and egged him to bring in astronomical names in the book and to clothe the whole drama in this garb. Secondly, he was out to impress upon the monarch the affection with which he was said to have been held by his parents and the praises showered upon him by every one who crossed his path. Further Muḥammad-Qulī's personal appearance was such that a mere portrait of his painted by 'Utārad on

the wall of the palace was enough to make Mushtarī swoon of love. There is absolutely no mention of any actual amour of the Sulṭān in the whole book. The marriage of the Sulṭān to Mushtarī is as fictitious as the romance itself, and just as there was no 'Utārad or Mirrīkh or Mushtarī, the Princess of Bengal, in actual life, so there was neither a marriage ceremony in actual life nor did any painter named 'Utārad ever paint the palace of any King or Queen of Bengal.[19]

Persian

The scions of the dynasty founded by Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk were patrons of the highest forms of Persian literature known in those days, and while the founder himself was essentially a statesman and a soldier, he gave adequate education to his sons to the extent that his successor Jamshīd actually acquired a talent for composing Persian poetry. In the time of Ibrāhīm, wave after wave of Persian literary men, merchants and divines crossed the seas and made Golkonda their home.[20] Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb

[19] Apart from the inherent value of the book to a student of Dakhni, I have discussed it at some length for the reason that a modern author has unfortunately mixed up the entirely fictitious Mushtari of the romance with Bhagmati, the supposed paramour of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah, as well as the subject of one of the Sultan's poems Mushtari and of another poem Haidar Mahal; this has been done to the extent that he ascribes the description of the marriage of the Sultan in a certain poem addressed to Ḥaidar Mahal (*Kulliyat*, p. 217), to his marriage with the fictitious Mushtari of Wajhi's romance! See Dr. Zor. *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, pp. 272, 273; supposed marriage to "Haidar Mahal, *alias* Mushtari, *alias* Bhagmati", *ibid.*, p. 86.

Professor P. B. Desai of the Kannada Research Institute of Dharwar has kindly indicated to me the resemblance of this story to that of Princess Sasiprabha in the Sanskrit poem, *Navasahasanacharita* of Padmagupta composed about A.D. 1000. The work, in eighteen cantos, narrates a purely imaginary story of the winning of the Princess "with a covert reference to the history of Siddhuraja of Malawa". See Devasthali's chapter on Language and Literature in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, in the series published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, p. 183.

See also Appendix II, below.

[20] Sherwani, Qutbu'l-Mulk as a Man and a Ruler, *J. I. H.*, August, 1956, p. 155 ff. For Jamshid's poetry, see Sherwani, The Medieval State of Tilangana, *ibid.*, April, 1957, p. 37 ff. and pp. 60, 61. For the overcrowding of Golkonda in Ibrahim's time, see Sherwami, Cultural and Administrative Set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah, *I. C.*, July 1957.

Shah was an artist by nature, and the movement towards the synthesis of cultures which had commenced in the time of his father now began to bear abundant fruit. The advent of Mīr Mu'min Astrābādi on the political arena immediately after the young king's accession, spurred the influx of Persian men of letters to come to the Deccan and make the new capital full of new trends of life which in turn made the Kingdom known all over the East.

Mīr Mu'min was a statesman, *litterateur*, divine and a polished courtier, and he exercised a great influence on the person of the Sulṭān. He was without doubt one of the chief advisers of the Sulṭān in planning the new capital. He must also have been one of those who caused a rapid introduction of orthodox Shī'ism in the State, and it is significant that one of the very first public buildings erected at Haiderabad after its foundation was the great Bādshāhī 'Āshūrkhāna built in almost pure Persian style. No doubt the ground for the propagation of Shī'ism had been prepared from the time of the later Bahmanīs, but now it had such a hold on the court of Haidarabad that the court circles of the capital must have appeared like a slice of Safawī Iran itself.[21] But, so far as the poetry and other literary works of Mīr Mu'min are concerned, they deal more with the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī's successor, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. The influence which he exercised on Muḥammad-Qulī, however, cannot be belittled, and even in those walks of life in which he does not seem to be outwardly in evidence, he is like the invisible man bringing his powerful personality to bear on the major policies of the State and on almost all walks of life in which he was interested.

Unfortunately we do not have the fund of the Sulṭān's own Persian compositions in the same way as we have his poetry in Dakhnī. Certain stray ghazals are found here and there but those

[21] Mir Mu'min's attempt to make Haidarabad a new Isfahan and a part of a new Iran; see *Hayat*, p. 113 ff. In the month of Muharram scores of *majlises* were held by the order of the King to mourn the martyrdom of Imam Husain. In certain large 'ashurkhanas ten thousand lamps were lit for ten consecutive days, and when the days of mourning came to an end, 12,000 hons were distributed among the poor. See Shamsu'l-lah Qadiri, *Ma'asir-i Dakan*, 29, where *Hadiqatu'l 'Alam*, I, 261 is quoted. Mir Mu'min calls Haidarabad, the "New Isfahan"; see *Hayat*, 205.

do not cover more than a few printed pages.[22] The manuscript of Muḥammad Qulī's *Kulliyāt* which Dr. Maulvi 'Abdu'l-Haq had before him when he wrote his article on the said composition in 1922, evidently contained a number of the Sulṭān's Persian ghazals, for the photostat copy of one of the pages of the *Kulliyāt*, which he has appended to his article, contains the last few lines of one ghazal, one full ghazal and the first line of a third ghazal.[23] All the three compositions consisting of ten lines are the *redīf* of the eighth letter of the Arabic and tenth of the Persian alphabet, and this shows that the Persian ghazals of the Sulṭān must have been represented in that copy of the *Kulliyāt* by hundreds of lines. It would be of great service to Persian literature if some one at home with the subject, were able to have recourse to this most valuable manuscript and edit the Persian part of the *Kulliyāt*. Out of the extant poems, the following have been taken at random:

با شمع بگو گرمی دیوانهٔ خود را   کاتش زنداز رشك تو پروانهٔ خود را

من غم عالم ندارم عاشقی کار من است   بادشاه کشور عشقم خدا یار من است

حرفے زلب یار شنیدیم شنیدیم   صد شکر کهاین باده چشیدیم چشیدیم

در آن وادی که آتش می شود گلشن درا زاهد
هزاران جنت است اینجا چرا دوری ازین وادی

---

[22] See Mir Sa'adat 'Ali Razavi, *Kalamu'l-Muluk*, Haidarabad, 1357 H., pp. 46-54 (xii) totalling 21 pages and containing 102 lines in all. Of these, 42 lines are from the photograph opposite p. 18 of *Urdu*, 1922. *Tarikh Muhammad Qutb Shah*, 'Ali b. Taifur Bustami's *Hada'iqu's-Salatin*, and 'Abdu'l-Jabbar Khan Malkapuri's *Mahbubu'z-Ziman* where, according to Mir Razavi's finding, the lines have been incorrectly copied. The other 60 lines are dirges in memory of Imam Husain included in certain stray leaves found in the Salar Jang Library, some of which contain Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah's *takhallus*.

[23] These few lines have been copied down by Mr. Razavi, but he has not indicated that they belong to a much larger collection of Muhammad-Quli's Persian ghazals, though portions of the two ghazals and the one complete ghazal on that page is evidently a part of a much larger whole.

ساقی بیار باده که فصل بهارشد صحن چمن ز آب و هوا لاله زار شد
هر وعده وصال دلش خوشکن اے حبیب چون قطب شه زهجر رخت بیقرار شد

جبریل خاك کرده به سراز غم حسین خون شد دل ملائکه ازماتم حسین[۲۴]

It was the patronage of learning on the part of the Court of Tilang which made poets of Persia throng into Haiderabad; and the capital became a refuge for those who did not find Iran big enough to appreciate their talent. Two such poets became outstanding personalities of the Deccan. One of them was Mirza Muḥammad Amīn Shahristāni who came to the Deccan and was forthwith appointed Mīr Jumla by the Sulṭān on Mīr Mu'min's recommendation, in 1011/1602. He proved to be the 'strong man' of Tilang, and the Sulṭān relegated practically all governmental powers to him, both civil and military. He remained at the helm of affairs till the death of the Sulṭān ten years later. It seems, he had a premonition that he would not be favoured by the Sulṭān's successor, and so he left with a vast treasure, first for Bijapur and then for his native country, Iran. Later, he came back to India to join the service of the Emperor Jahangir at Agra. He died at the Mughal capital in 1047/1637 and was buried there.

[24] The purport of these lines may be rendered thus:

"Inform the Lamp of the passion of one who is so mad after thee; That out of sheer emulation it may strike the Moth with its own fire."

"My sole occupation is love and I have therefore no worldly cares; I am the sovereign of the realm of love and God is my friend and helper."

"A word uttered by the lips of the beloved I have heard, yes I have heard; A hundred thanks are due to the Almighty that the contents of this goblet I have tasted, yes I have tasted."

"Oh thou who pretends to be pious, come into the valley where fire is turned into a bed of flowers; So why stray into another valley when it is here that thou wilt find thousand paradises."

"Cup-bearer! Pass me the goblet for the days of Spring have come at last; And the water-laden atmosphere has caused whole beds in my garden to be just flowers and little else."

"Beloved! promise to come near me and make my heart truly glad; For the continuous absence of thy winsome face has made Qutb Shah so restless and so uneasy."

"Even the angel Gabriel threw dust on his face for his intense sorrow at the martyrdom of Husain; And the very hearts of the angels became gory due to their lament for his death."

In spite of his obvious preoccupations as a statesman and a soldier, Mirza Muḥammad Amīn found time to compose some fine poetry. He was so confident of his own capacity that he, in a way, challenged such a masterly work as the *khamsah Nizāmiyah* of the great poet, Nizāmī-Ganjawī, and while at Haidarabad, began to compose his own *khamsah*, or Five Masnawīs, four books of which he was able to complete. These are *Khusrau-Shīrīn*, *Lailā-Majnūn*, *Maṭmaḥu'l-Anzar* and *Falaku'l-Burūj*, while the collection of his other poems, both ghazals and quatrains, called *Gulistāni-i-Nāz*, is a voluminous book of considerable merit.[25]

Another poet who was honoured at the new capital was Mullā Mu'in Mīrak Sabzwāri who began as the envoy of Aḥmadnagar sent to Golkonda to felicitate that young king on his accession to the throne, and finally settled down at Haidarabad as a court poet. He also represented the Nizāmshāhi Kingdom as the envoy of Murtaza Nizām Shah II on the occasion of the marriage of the King's daughter, Hayāt Bakhshi Bēgam in 1016/1607. On this occasion he composed an ode which begins thus:

دوش سر کرده خیالم ره بزمی چو بهشت اهل آن بزم چو حوران همه نورانی چهر [26]

It was probably after he had settled down at Haidarabad that the Sultān constructed his famous palace called Khudādād Maḥal, on

25 For Muhammad Amin see *Ma'asiru'l-Umara*, III, 413 ff.; *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, I, 244, Zor, *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, 347 ff.; *Hada'iqu's Salatin*; MSS., Salar Jung Library, No. 27/216, folios 182 b-186 b. The MSS. of the four of his masnawis which have been traced so far: (*i*) *Khusrau-Shirin*, Ethe, I, col., 841, No. 1539; (*ii*) *Laila-Majnun*, *ibid.* col. 842, No. 1540; (*iii*) *Matmahu'l-Anzar*, Rieu, II, p. 675, referred to in the copy of *Laila-Majnun*, Add., 24,088; (*iv*) *Falak-i Buruj or Asman-i Hashtum*, Rieu, II, Add., 25-903. The *Diwan*, which runs into 185 folios, is also in the British Museum; Rieu, Or., 284. The five masnawis of Nizami are *Khusrau Shirin*, *Laila-Majnun*, *Makhzanu'l-Asrar*, *Haft Paikar* and *Sikandar Namah*. For Nizami, who was born at Ganja, now Kirovabad, in 1140c. and died in 1203, see Browne, *Persian Literature from Firdawsi to Sa'di*, pp. 400-401.

26 The marriage took place in 1016 H. not in 1006 H. as in Qadiri's article 'Dakan ki 'Ilmi Taraqqiyan', *Tarikh*, Haidarabad, 1926, p. 136. See *Q. S.*, p. 289. A free rendering of the line would be:

"Yesterday I was transported in my vision to a gathering like the one expected to be seen in Paradise itself,
And those I saw in that gathering were like the hoorris with faces gleaming with Divine light".

which occasion Mulla Mīrak composed the following chronogram: [27]

تاریخ مرتبب شدندش کلك قضــا   بر لوح بقا بنائے جان بخش نوشت ۲۷

There were a number of minor poets of Persia who permanently settled down in Haidarabad. Apart from this, it was a kind of fashion for Persian travellers of note coming to an Indian court to pass a few years at Haidarabad as well, where they were sure of being accorded a warm welcome; besides, there was the prospect of leaving the State much richer.[28]

The tradition of compiling a metrical chronicle of the Qutbshāhi dynasty which had begun in the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh was continued during the reign of his successor.[29] We have the *Nasab Nāmah Qutbshāhī* or *Nisbat Nāmah Shahryārī* by Ḥusain b. 'Alī Fursi who compiled this metrical history during the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. The story begins with the origin of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty and ends with the year 1016/1607, i.e. four years before the Sulṭān's death. There is a reference to the poet Sanā'ī who is said to be a 'contemporary' in one of the lines, although we know that Sanā'ī died as early as 996/1588; but this may be due to a realistic touch on the part of the author to treat Sanā'ī not as his contemporary but as a contemporary of the events of 996/1588 and earlier which he was recounting. The work is divided into four parts; the first part is a kind of introduction and takes the reader up to the end of the Bahmanī dynasty; the second

[27] See Zor, *Muhammad-Quli*, p. 320. Chronogram in "Abdu'l-lah al-Makki" *Zafaru'l-Walih*, p. 17. It is not *kilk-i Fida* as in *Tarikh*, 1926, p. 136, but *kilk-i Qaza*. A free rendering would be:

> "The chronogram of its construction was written by the Pen of Destiny on the Sheet of Immorality that it was truly a life-giving foundation."

[28] For these see *Tarikh*, 1926, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-38.

[29] The metrical chronicle compiled in Ibrahim's reign is the *Tawarikh Qutbshahi*, also called *Khamsa Qutbshahi*, MSS., Salar Jung Library, Haidarabad, Nazm-i Farsi, 1468, for which see Sherwani, 'Sultan-Quli Qutb'l-Mulk', Part II, *J. I. H.*, April, 1956, p. 30, n. 111. Again it was also during Ibrahim's reign that Khurshah b. Qubad al-Husaini wrote his famous "History of the World" called the *Tarikh Ilchi Nizam Shah*, MSS. Asafiya, Tarikh, 1330, which begins with the fall of Adam and brings the history of man down to 971/1563.

takes him right up to the accession of Ibrāhīm; the third deals with the reign of Ibrāhīm, while the fourth brings the history up to the compilation of the work.

There is another and a shorter work called *Tawārīkh Quṭbshāhī* by Munshi Hīrā Lāl Khushdil, Private Secretary of Prince Haidar-Qulī. This is a much smaller composition and Professor Storey is of the opinion that it may be only an abridgement of Fursī's work. Ivanow calls him a plagiarist, and if it is not possible to give the book an independent place, then a more appropriate epithet than plagiarism would be abridgement, for the lines in the two histories differ in their essentials. This book is also divided into four parts: Part I deals with the birth of the founder of the dynasty up to his accession to power, Part II with his rule, Part III with the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and Part IV with the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah.[30]

History was not the only branch of knowledge which was patronised by the Court. We have already dealt with the establishment of the General Civil Hospital, the Dāru'sh-Shifā and the employment of distinguished physicians like Hakim Safīyu'd-dīn Gīlānī who was not merely a professional doctor but an author as well. Besides, we have two books on mathematics by 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Manṣūr al-Fursī. One of these is a translation of the treatise named Kh*ulasatu'l Hisāb* by Shaikh Bahāu'd-dīn Āmili and the other a translation of an Arabic commentary of Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Chaghminī al-Khwārizmi.[31]

Thus the patronage shown by Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shah for

[30] For Fursi's and Khushdil's works, see Storey, *Persian Literature, a Bio-biographical Dictionery*, II, p. 740; *Sprenger*, 227; *Ivanow*, 690, 691; *Ethe*, 1486.

[31] For these books see *Tarikh*, April-June, 1929, pp. 134-35. As regards *Khulasatu'l-Hisab*, there is a MSS. of that name in the Salar Jung Library, No. 15/6, dedicated to Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah, but it does not indicate its authorship, and certainly does not appear to be a translation of Amili's work. *Shaikh Bahau'd-din Amili* (not 'Amili as in *Tarikh*, *op. cit.*) lived from 1546 to 1622. Besides being a great Shi'ah divine, he was the author of books ranging from the reminiscences of his travels to Mathematics and Astronomy; see Browne, *Persian Literature from 1500 to 1924*, pp. 427-28. *Al-Khwarizmi*, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Chaghmini al-Khwarizmi, Mathematician and astronomer; author of many books including *al-Mukhtasar fi'l Ha'iah*; died 1412. There have been many commentaries of his work; see Brockelmann, *Geshichte der arabischen Litteratur*, I, 473 and II, 212.

the literature of the period covered not merely the Court language, Persian, but also the languages current in the Kingdom, namely Telugu and Dakhni, the earlier form of the later Urdu which was fast gaining ground as the language common to all parts of the Deccan. He also extended his hand for the protection of exact sciences like medicine, mathematics and astronomy.

Chapter 5

SOCIAL LIFE

It is extremely rare that we are privileged to get a glimpse of the general social life of a whole generation from a single book, and rarer still that we find that book to have been penned without fear or favour and with little reserve. Such a book is the *Kullīyāt* of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah. In it are described the custom and tradition of the people including festivals, both Hindu and Muslim; the dresses worn by women; the ceremonies attending various stages in the life of a person such as birth, marriage, birthday celebrations (which the author calls *Baras Gānṭh* or the "Yearly Knot"); food and drink, games played by the people and a host of other topics. We have poems on the Muḥarram, a variety of festivals such as the birthday of the Prophet, the day of the first Revelation, the birthday of 'Ali, the anniversary of the Prophet's identification of the interests of his son-in-law, 'Ali, with his own, the end of the Ramaḍān and the Feast of Sacrifice, the Mi'rāj and other Muslim anniversaries. Here are also poems about the *mirag-sāl* or the beginning of the rainy season to which the farmer looks forward for months on end, and Basant or the Hindu festival of flowers when pretty women are dressed in yellow and when, even now, there is much kite-flying and merry-making, as also about the Persian festival of Naurūz. Thus his court represented the culture of the Muslims and non-Muslims alike and, while he seems prejudiced in his enunciation of the inferiority of the non-Shī'ah sects of the Muslims, he is culturally at one with the Hindus and the Parsīs as well as the man in the street so far as his appreciation of their ways of life is concerned.

Those of us who are conversant with the general life of the Muslims are aware of the importance with which the *Shab-i Barāt* is held by the generality of the people. Whatever the original significance of the festival might have been, the night before the 15th of Sha'bān, i.e. a fortnight before the Ramazān, is celebrated with much merry-making. The houses of the people are aglow with light and not only children but grown up men and women too indulge in fireworks much in the same way as the Hindus indulge

in merry-making on the occasion of *diwālī*. In fact it seems that the Muslims have taken a leaf out of the calendar of the Hindu festivals. Muḥammad-Qulī has as many as ten poems on the Shab-i Barāt, and while describing the celebrations he gives us the names of crackers, some of which have disappeared, while others are interesting as they continue to be fired even to this day.[1] But barely crackers and fireworks would not satisfy the Sulṭān, for the amorist in him appears in some of the verses on the Shab-i Barāt as well.[2]

This propensity of the Sulṭān finds a place even in some of the pieces dedicated to the worship of God and to the discipline enjoined by Him, and this shows how much laxity there was in court circles. While on the one hand he prohibits the use of wine, opium and other intoxicants in the month of Ramazān (not merely for the general public but also for himself and those who had any connection with the court) he rejoices at the end of the month as he would have ample opportunity to indulge in women and wine once again, thus:

چھپی تھی جسو یك ماه مد کی چھبیلی   مشاطا هو عیـدا نگارت دکھایا

پیالے پیتے بلاتے بھر بھر صراحیاں لیاتے   مد پی هوتے هیں ماتے مستان تمام ساقی۳

It is interesting to note that even in those far off days it was the custom to offer Shīr-Khurmā, a drink made of creamy milk and ghee garnished with dates, pistachios, almonds and other condiments mixed with sugar; Muḥammad-Qulī gives almost the full recipe of the preparation in a single line.

سا بات شیر خرما پستے شکر ادھر دھر   کیون روزے رکھتے سکیاں کرکر سوال ساقی۴

Basant is the festival of the flowers of spring and is sometimes identified with the colour of the marigold. Here was a festival

[1] *Kulliyat*, 93. The names of some of the crackers mentioned in these lines are *hawa'i, phul-bazi, nag-phulri, mahtab, tila, choti.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 96, 97.

[3] *Ibid.*, 103, 102. This is only a sample of lines welcoming wine and pleasure after the passing out of the Ramazan.

[4] *Ibid.*, 101.

which was near the Sultān's heart for he could enjoy it to the brim without the disapproval either of the Mulla or the Pandit. He has composed some fine poems for the occasion on the message of love which the spring brings along with it. The rhythm and the swing of the poem are significant[5].

بسنت کھیلیں عشق کی آ پیارا   تمیں ہیں چاند میں ہوں جوں ستارا
جوبن کے حوض خانے رنگ مدن بھر   سو روما روم چھوکیاں لائے دھارا
شاہ کے مندر سعادت کا خبر لیایا بسنت   نین پتلیاں کے چمن میں پھول پھل لیایا بسنت

The Persian *Naurūz* also evoked certain suggestive poems from the Sulṭān. The similarity of *Naurūz* to Basant was obvious in many respects, for, both were festivals of the spring and both were essentially Aryan in their origin.[6] In the same way, he has a number of poems on such occasions as the beginning of the rainy season which he calls by the Indo-Persian name of *mirag-sāl*. The beginning of the rains is traditionally associated with wine and meat cutlets and Muḥammad-Qulī celebrated this occasion also with drinking bouts, dance and song, swings in the groves to which his favourite girls came, all scented and fragrant as they were wont to rub their bodies with musk and amber.

We have also a number of poems which give us an insight into the ceremonies attending marriage, and one is greatly struck by the similarities between these and the ceremonies which are regarded as essential in present day India. Muḥammad-Qulī has described in some details the familiar ceremony of applying *henna* (Hind., *mehndī*) to the palms and feet of the bride. This is done today by the girl's relatives and friends of approximately the same age as herself. How fresh and modern does one of the couplets sound in another context[7]:

سب ملکے پیادون سون جائیں شہ پہ بل بل   سب سندریان سون الکھیان رنگ رس سون نچائے

Again, *Jalwā* (vulg., *Julwā*) is a ceremony which is peculiar to the Deccan. The bride and the groom sit on a wooden platform screened from each other by a curtain. They see each other for the first time rather shyly in a small mirror placed at the nether end of

[5] *Ibid.*, 135, 139. [6] *Ibid.*, 130. [7] *Ibid.*, 166.

the platform. The Kulliyāt shows us that this rather romantic ceremony existed during the Quṭbshāhī period and was as popular as it is today. The bride is dressed in her bridal garb and looks her best in order that she might create a good impression on the one to whom she will be wedded for life. A most dramatic ceremony is performed in which seven elderly women whose husbands are still alive call the pair from opposite directions so that they may see each other for the first time in a tiny mirror. There are seven poems about this romantic ceremony in the Kulliyāt; one of these which describes it in a few words, may be rendered thus:

> "It is time to embellish the platform where Jalwā is to be held with pearls all round.
> "Now, seven fortunate ladies, come and anoint the bride, and let Venus herself smear the hands of the bride with *henna*.
> "Let the happy pair drink *sherbet* and let them have the betel to chew; and let the *sārīs* have their hems adorned with pearls."[8]

The Sulṭān composed poems even on the games played by his subjects. These include pieces on *chaugān* or polo, *kabaḍḍī*, which he calls *khamaḍḍī*, and on a game peculiar to the girls of the Deccan called *pōkhari phū*.[9]

If we were to remove the personal predilections of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh from some of his poems, we would undoubtedly find that he has correctly portrayed the general life of the people, their rites and ceremonies, and unconsciously described the synthesis of cultures which was proceeding apace towards the formation of the composite civilisation which came to be known as the *dakhnī* culture.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 161. [9] *Ibid.*, pp. 185-87.

Part II

POLITICAL ASPECTS

Chapter 6

MUHAMMAD-QULĪ'S EARLY YEARS

Accession

WHEN Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shah died he had six sons living. The eldest, 'Abdu'l-Qādir, was confined in the Dēwarkonḍa fort, the next, Ḥusain-Qulī, was twenty, while Muḥammad-Qulī was barely fourteen, and the other three, 'Abdu'l-Fattāḥ, Khudābandah and Muḥammad Amīn were all younger.[1] A tradition seems to have cropped up later that Ibrāhīm had nominated Muḥammad-Qulī as his successor and had even made high officers, both civil and military, swear allegiance to him; but this seems to have been an after-thought.[2] It is on record that Ḥusain was well versed in classical lore and was a scholar of logic, philosophy and medicine, while Muḥammad-Qulī himself confesses in one of his poems that whatever he acquired was by way of instinct and he did not mind

[1] Ibrahim's surviving sons, *Q.S.*, 229; the name of Muhammad-Quli's elder brother is variously given as Husain-Quli and Husain-'Ali, while Ferishta quite wrongly names the *third* son Subhan-Quli; the name Husain-Quli seems the most probable. Ferishta is usually sketchy or wrong with regard to Qutbshahi history, and he confesses in the very beginning of the chapter devoted to the history of Tilang, II, 267, that his knowledge of the history of this region is very meagre. He is wrong when he says that Muhammad-Quli was the eldest surviving son of the late king, that there were only two brothers of the new sovereign and that he was barely twelve at the time of his accession. He entirely ignores Muhammad Amin, whose son Sultan Muhammad became Muhammad-Quli's son-in-law and successor. *Tadh.*, fol. 16b. says that Ibrahim had settled the kingdom on Muhammad-Quli at the time of his death; but this is not corroborated. Khafi Khan confesses in *Munt.*, I, p. 2 that the source of his account of the history of the Deccan was *Fer.*, and so far as Muhammad-Quli's claim is concerned, he simply copies down his source book almost word for word. *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, 200, also follows the same line. There is no evidence, as Prof. Siddiqui seems to think (*History of Golconda*, p. 87, n. 3) that Husain-Quli was either disabled or had renounced the throne. There is at least one book, the metrical *Tawarikh-i Qutb Shahi*, Ethe, 1486, fol. 126, in which it is clearly stated that Muhammad-Quli was the eldest among his brothers. See also ch. n. 22. Muhammad-Quli was born on 14-9-973/4-4-1566; *Q.S.*, 182.

[2] Thus in *Bur.*, 227.

being called unlettered.[3] This goes counter to the tradition that Muḥammad-Qulī had been nominated by Ibrāhīm, for, in that case there was no reason why his education should have been neglected. His accession was probably due to some kind of palace intrigue. Ḥusain's prospective father-in-law, Mīr Shāh Mīr, was away at the siege of Naldrug, and Rāi Rāo who was all-powerful at the court when Ibrāhīm died, obviously thought that in case he lost the opportunity he would at least be demoted by Shāh Mīr when he returned; and so, before his opponents at the capital (there must have been many) could raise their heads he held a farce of an election and raised Muḥammad-Qulī to the throne.[4] It is also possible that those in high office at the capital showed their preference to Muḥammad-Qulī because he was soft and gentle to a fault, and was more inclined to art, poetry and a hail-fellow-well-met sort of atmosphere than to affairs of state, while his elder brother was serious-minded; the amīrs therefore threw their dice in favour of the former because they would thus be able to have greater influence in matters of state.

Coinage

Before proceeding to discuss the political history of the new reign it would be well to describe the coinage of the Sultān as this would throw an interesting light on the change of the capital from Golkonda to Haidarabad. Four types of coins—one undated and three dated—belong to the reign, are extant; the first dated has no mint name but only the date '89'; the second bears the date 991/1583 with the name of the mint, "Dāru's-Salṭanat Kolkunda" while the third bears the date 1012/1603-4 with "Dāru's-Salṭanat Haidarabad". Up to the present, no coins have been unearthed bearing dates other than these. Not only do they show that there was no other mint besides these two but also that the Golkonda mint ceased to strike coins after the institution of the mint at Haidarabad. The half-fuls of '89', which no doubt stands for 989/1581, the year after the accession of the new Sulṭān, has the representation of an 'alam or the standard of Imām Husain, sacred to the Shī'ah,

[3] Muhammad-Quli calls himself "unlettered" in one of his ghazals; *Kulliyat*, ghazal 7, line 6.

[4] "Election by the amirs and dignitaries of the Kingdom"; *Q.S.*, 232.

and this shows that the new king had a decided leaning towards Shī'ism almost immediately after he had ascended the throne.[5]

War and Peace with Bijapur

It was while the Qutbshāhī and the Nizāmshāhī forces were besieging Naldrug that news of the death of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh arrived from Golkonda. During the thirty odd years of his reign Ibrāhīm had so much endeared himself to all sections of his subjects that it was with difficulty that the besieging forces could believe the news. In fact the commander of the Qutbshāhī forces, Mīr Shāh Mīr, who was at Nandgāon near the beleaguered city, kept the news back for some time, and it was only after reassuring himself of

[5] Specimens of the copper coins of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah:

(*i*) Obv. : Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah.
Rev. : 'Alam, with a whisk either side, and a crescent-like base.
(*ii*) Obv. : 'Adl Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah; duriba daru's—Saltanat Kolkunda.
Rev. : Ta'yir dahe fulus-i Shahi, Paiwasta ba la'nate Ilahi (One who derogates the royal fulus, will deserve God's curse).
(*iii*) Obv. : Sultan Muhammad-Quli.
Rev. : Badshah, 89.
(*iv*) Obv. : Abu'l-Muzaffar Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah.
Rev. : Duriba daru's-Saltanat Haidarabad.

Some of these coins are found in the Hyderabad Museum as well in Mr. Hormuz Kaus's collection in Hyderabad; see his article, 'Coins of the Qutub Shahi Dynasty of Golconda', Spink's Numismatic Circular, May 1955, p. 212. See also Md. Abdul Wali Khan's *Qutub Shahi Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, pp. 2-21, where 201 specimens in the cabinet of the Museum have been described. The author of the book has misspelt the word "Ta'yir" which means 'derogation', "Ta'yir dah" meaning one who derogates. These coins as well as Ferishta's statement that the Qutb Shahi forces retreated to "Haidarabad" in 1005/1597 (*Fer.* II 163) and the mention of the new capital as *Haidarnagar* and *Shahr-e Haidar* in Muhammad-Quli's own *Kulliyat* (Nazm, p. 324, and ghazal No. 184) are clear evidences to show that the city was named Haidarabad from the very beginning. The 'alam is repeated in 'Abdu'llah Qutb Shah's coins, specimens of which are found in the cabinet at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. The present writer is indebted to its Director for having furnished him with casts of the same. Thevenot says on p. 136 that only "Pechas" were coined at Haidarabad, and the exchange rate was 55 paise to a Mughal Rupia.

the consequences that he broke the news. Murtaza Nizām Shah immediately ordered Mīrak Mu'īn Subzwārī (who was well-known for his knowledge of the niceties of protocol) to Golkonda for condolence and congratulations. But Mīr Shāh Mīr had a certain amount of trepidation to proceed to Golkonda himself as his daughter had been betrothed to the new Sulṭān's elder brother Ḥusain Qulī, and to be on the safe side he sent Khwāja Muḥammad Samnānī in advance to probe into the atmosphere of the Court. It was probably when he was assured that no harm would come to him that he himself proceeded to Golkonda where he was received in right royal fashion and robes of the state were conferred on him. He reported to the King that the siege of Naldrug had been going on for many weeks without much success, and if His Majesty were to go to the battlefield himself it would greatly hearten the troops. The King accepted the proposal and started for Naldrug.[6]

Muḥammad-Qulī arrived at Naldrug in Ramazān 989/September 1581. "The fort was one of the best fortified in the whole of Hindustan" and was further well commanded by Wazīr Khān, surnamed Wazīru'l Mamālik. In spite of this the allied commanders were so sure of its capture that they fixed their artillery pieces opposite the driest part of the wide moat so that when breaches were effected they could easily cross over to the fort itself. At the same time "every one, man and beast, were put into service to fill the forty-yard wide moat with earth, stones and wood". Shots from heavy artillery like the Nine-yard piece, the Lailā Majnūn, the Hawā'ī from Aḥmadnagar and the Muḥammadī

[6] *Bur.*, 527-29; *Q.S.*, 232-33. The scheme seems to have been that the allies should first conquer Naldrug, which had been renamed Shahdrug, and then take Sholapur and Udgir; it was also agreed that while the last two places should eventually be annexed to Tilang, Sholapur and Naldrug should go to Ahmadnagar: Fer., II 172. Of course the whole programme fell through, owing to the diplomacy of Chand Bibi, and the tough resistance of the 'Adilshahi troops both at Naldrug and Bijapur.

Nandgaon: headquarters of a taluq, Nasik district, Maharashtra State, 20° 19′ N., 74° 43′ E.

Sholapur: headquarters of a district, Maharashtra State; 17° 40′ N., 74° 42′ E.

Udgir: headquarters of a taluqa in Bidar district, Mysore State; 18° 41′ N., 78° 56′ E.

Naldrug: in the Tuljapur taluqa, Osmanabad District, Maharashtra State; 17° 49′ N., 76° 29′ E.

and Haidarī from Golkonda played havoc with the ramparts opposite; but the commander of the defending garrison was so alert that the moment there was a breach, he managed to erect another rampart right behind the breach. When it was found that Naldrug could not be taken by fair means messages were sent to the brave commander of the garrison offering him a large amount of money and honours if he would hand over Naldrug to the besieging army; but he replied that he was a faithful servant of his august master and he would not lay down his arms as long as he lived.[7]

The siege therefore went on, and in order to hearten the soldiers further, the young Muḥammad-Quli went into the action himself. Bombardment continued, and portions of the wall were demolished; but the heaps of débris were so high (and perhaps so soft) that it was difficult for the besieging army to take the fort by escalade. The siege had now gone on for four to five months, and when it was learnt that there was considerable civil commotion at Bijapur just then, it was decided to leave a small force at Naldrug and to move on to the capital itself.[8] The invading army was

[7] Date of Muhammad-Quli's arrival at Naldrug; *Bur.*, 530; Wazir Khan, *thanedar* of Naldrug, *Q.S.*, 234; names of cannon *Q.S.*, 234. Offer of bribe to the commandant, *Fer.*, II, 53 and 143. Ferishta calls the Commandant Muhammad Aqa'i Turkman, and it is possible that the name Wazir Khan may be his title.

[8] *Civil commotion in Bijapur:* Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II was only 9 when he succeeded his uncle 'Ali 'Adil Shah in 988/1580. The government was then controlled by Kamil Khan Dakhni while the education and upbringing of the boy-king was entrusted to his aunt, the dowager queen Chand Bibi, who was the daughter of Husain Nizam Shah. There seem to have been three racial groups at the capital all fighting for political power: the dakhni group led by Kamil Khan; the *gharibs* or *afaqis* led by persons like Mustafa Khan Ardistani and the habashi group led by Ikhlas Khan and others. The tale is full of intrigues, conspiracies and murders at the capital as well as in the provinces, and the office with the least amount of security either of tenure or of life was that of the *Vakil* or prime minister who acted as a sort of regent during the minority of the King. The life of the regency was short indeed. The first to hold the office, Kamil Khan, was seized and beheaded two months and twelve days after his accession to office, while his successor Kishwar Khan had to flee first to Ahmadnagar and thence to Golkonda just four months and twelve days after he had seized power himself. At first Chand Bibi was left as a governess to her nephew the Sultan, but the moment she began to interfere in governmental affairs she too was incarcerated in the Satara

forty thousand strong while the citadel of Bijapur was defended by a small force of just two or three thousand men. It was an ill omen when two of the Bijapur commanders, 'Ainu'l-mulk Kan'āni and Ankas Khān went over to the enemy with their eight thousand horse which had just arrived in the capital. On the other hand, there was no love lost between two Ahmadnagar generals, Syed Murtaza and Bihzādu'l-Mulk, and assault after assault were postponed because they could not agree to the exact timings. Within the citadel, the reins of government were now grasped by Ibrāhim's aunt, 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh's widow Chānd Bībī, who by her patriotism and tact soon reorganised the government and rejuvenated the whole political structure. She began by appointing the influential Shah 'Abu'l-Ḥasan, son of Shāh Tāhir, Mīr Jumla of the Kingdom. Immediately on assuming charge, the new Mīr Jumla sent messages to the enemy camp, especially to his old friend Syed Murtazā, that it was futile to continue aggression, while on the other hand he sent word to the *bergī* guerillas, most of whom were from the southern Maratha country to rejoin Bijapur service which they had quitted in the time of the late Sulṭān. His general policy and treatment was so commendable that even those who had so lately been divested of power, namely the Habashī party, paid homage to the boy Sulṭān and signified their loyalty to the State. The guerilla *bergīs* continually kept the invading army fully occupied and further prevented any provisions from entering the enemy lines. When conditions of famine began to pervade the large Tilang-Ahmadnagar army the generals held a *Majlis-i Kingāsh* or Council of War which decided that there was no alternative except to break the camp and retreat, the Ahmadnagar forces to the capital via Mustafābād-Miraj and Kalhar, and the Tilang forces to Golkonda via Gulbarga. Muḥammad-Qulī, who must have been thoroughly disgusted by the result of the war which had gone on for a whole year, now left Amīr Zainal Astrābādi, whom he gave

fort by Kishwar Khan and was a prisoner right up till his downfall. But the Habashi Amirs who now seized power proved to be no better than predecessors, and the turmoil which seemed to be the order of the day nearly resulted in the defeat and capture of the Kingdom by the armies of Tilang and Ahmadnagar. It was at this juncture that Chand Bibi assumed full control of the government and appointed Shah Abu'l-Hasan to the office of *Vakil* or prime minister. See *Basatin*, pp. 153-80; *Briggs*, III, 145-55; Syed Ahmadu'l-lah Qadri, *Memoirs of Chand Bibi*, ch. 7.

the title of Mustafā Khān, with seven thousand horse and a large number of elephants to occupy certain places on the Bijapur-Tilang border which he thought were his birth right, and marched back to Golkonda.[9] On his arival at the capital, he deposed Mīr Shāh Mīr and ordered his extermination to the place of his birth, Isfahan in Persia. The Mīr, however, never reached Persia; he died on the way.[10]

[9] Thus in *Fer.*, II, 54. In *Fer.*, II, 172, is given the story that some of the officers represented to the King that it was not right and proper that he should have come to the battlefield at the bidding of Mir Shah Mir, "for there was a tradition in the Deccan that if a king wanted another king's help he should come to the battlefield first", while the King of Ahmadnagar had not stirred from his capital. The story is not found elsewhere even in Ferishta, nor is the 'tradition' repeated. As a matter of fact, it was not Murtaza Nizam Shah but Mir Shah Mir who had persuaded Muhammad-Quli to go to the battlefield, although it is quite possible that the Mir might have been initially moved by the Ahmadnagar generals.

[10] *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, 207-208. Many factors seem to have contributed to the fall of Mir Shah Mir. The first must have been the continuous failure of the Qutbshahi army on the Bijapur front. Then there was the so-called tradition mentioned in the previous note, which may have been dinned into the King's ears evidently by those opposed to the minister; and thirdly the unhappy marriage of the king with the daughter of the Mir. The interval between the marriage of the girl with the King and the dismissal of her father was not long. As has been mentioned above, the girl was originally betrothed to the King's brother Husain-Quli, who was avowedly well-read and sedate (*Q.S.*, 229), but on Muhammad-Quli's return to the capital she was married to him (*Bur.*, 535). The king's character was somewhat loose, as is evident from his poems in the *Kulliyat*, especially those dedicated to his amours (pp. 225-41; 321-24). Even while studying in the *maktab* at a very early age he is reported to have felt a dislike to the prescribed syllabus and had an avowed inclination towards love and romance; see Zor, *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, p. 36. Even when he married Mir Shah Mir's daughter he was given to enjoyment of all kinds (*Fer.*, II, 54), and this might well have unnerved both the new queen and his father. We do not hear much about the Queen, and except for his famous daughter, Hayat Bakhshi Begam, we know that Muhammad-Quli had no other issue.

Chapter 7

THE MUGHALS IN THE DECCAN

Early Contacts

WE HAVE reached a point at which it is necessary to digress a little from the flow of events in the Quṭbshāhī dominions to an event of primary importance to the future history of the whole of the Deccan, namely the advance of the Mughal power southwards. It was as early as 1398 that Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī had sent an envoy to Tīmūr at Delhi offering to pay homage to him as the Emperor of India, in return for which Tīmūr had sent a *farmān* conferring the sovereignty not merely of the Deccan but also of Malwa and Gujarat on the Bahmani king.[1] The first battle of Panipat, fought on 10-7-932/22-4-1526, which entrenched Babur in India, coincided with the virtual extinction of Bahmani authority in the Deccan. The rulers of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Berar and Khāndesh made a correct estimate of the rising power of the Mughals and sent envoys to Babur offering congratulations on his decisive victory against Ibrāhīm Lodi.[2] The Bahmani *roi fainéant*, Kalīmu'l-lāh, also wrote to Babur offering him Berar and Daulatābād (which the former no longer controlled) if he would help him in throwing off the yoke of Amīr Barīd, the Mayor of the Palace, at Bidar. The news, however, leaked out and Kalīmu'l-lāh had to flee for his life from his capital at Bidar to Bijapur.

Babur had to conquer North India piecemeal and was not spared long enough to look towards the Deccan. His son Humayun had enough to deal with at home and had eventually to vacate his throne for Sher Shah and his progeny for fifteen long years. But such was the awe of the Mughals in the Deccan that "Burhān Nizām Shāh, 'Imād Shāh and other rulers of the Deccan" were ill at ease when they heard that Humayun had actually crossed the Satpuṛās and was in Khāndēsh some time about 942/1535-36.[3]

[1] *Bahmanis*, p. 158. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 417.

[3] *Fer.*, I, 215; the letter which was sent to the Emperor through Shah Tahir Junaidi is couched in the most abject terms, and is found *in extenso* in *Fer.*, II, 285.

Daulatabad: famous hill-fort in Aurangabad district, Maharashtra State; 19° 57′ N., 17° 13′ E.

As early as the twenty-fifth year of Akbar's reign, i.e. 988/1580 Abu'l-Fazl complains that the rulers (*'marzbānān'*) of the Deccan failed to act according to the Imperial decrees; but at the same time he confesses that they did not desist from submitting petitions and consider themselves as protected princes of the Empire. He mentions that "not so very long ago the ruler (*'wālī'*) of Golkonda sent a petition (*'arzdāsht'*) to His Imperial Majesty which was full of flattering terms. This was graciously given favourable consideration on behalf of the Emperor and given solace to the heart of the sender".[4] Ever since the surrender of Gujarat by Muzaffar Shāh in 1572, Akbar had begun to cast his longing eyes towards the Deccan. The senseless internecine wars after a short-lived truce preceding the Battle of the Krishna in 1565, the intrigues at Ahmadnagar on the death of Ibrāhīm Nizām Shah II, the never-ending quarrel over the border town of Shōlāpūr between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, and the complacency of the Sulṭāns of the Deccan—all this must have encouraged Akbar to visualise the possible elimination of the Sulṭānates. Moreover, almost immediately after the conquest of Gujarat in 1573, the discontented elements had again raised Muzaffar to the throne, and, in spite of the full weight of the Empire which was brought to bear upon the rebels, they continued to oppose the Imperial arms for nearly twelve years.[5] It therefore appeared necessary that Malwa should be covered by Imperial arms, for this would stultify the rebels' movements. Malwa had been an appendage of the Sulṭāns of Gujarat since 1531,[6] and now Akbar appointed his confidant Khān-i A'zam Mirza 'Azīz Koka governor of the region, and himself proceeded to the south to supervise operations in the Deccan.

[4] *Akbarnamah*, II, 162. For the Battle of the Krishna, wrongly called the Battle of Talikota, see Sherwani, 'Battle of the Krishna', *J. I. H.* December, 1957, pp. 360-85.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, 255 ff. The last king of Gujarat, Muzaffar, went on opposing the forces of the Mughals for more than eleven years, and it was not till 991/1583 that Gujarat was finally annexed. See also *Fer.*, II, 233; Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, p. 573. Apart from all other considerations Akbar no doubt coveted the extended sea-coast which the conquest of the Ahmadnagar kingdom would give him.

[6] The date of the conquest of Mandu by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat is 9-8-937/28-3-1532 according to *Fer.*, II, 269, not 931 H. as in Amir Ahmad 'Alavi's *Shahan-i Malwah*, p. 133.

The immediate targets were Khāndēsh and Ahmadnagar. The problem of Khāndēsh proved to be easy of solution; for, the ruler, Rājā 'Alī Khān Fārūqī had realised his weakness and put himself under the protectorate of the Mughal power. Even on his accession to the throne in 984/1576 he had made up his mind not to adopt the royal title and was content to bear the simple title of Khān.[7] He became a permanent ally of the Mughals, and it was to him that Akbar wrote a commendatory letter in favour of Burhān in 999/1590,[8] when the latter was sent southwards to reclaim his patrimony from Murtazā Nizām Shah whom he considered to be a usurper.[9] Faizī, who was sent as an envoy by Akbar first to Burhānpūr and then to Ahmadnagar, is quite clear about the position of Raja 'Alī Khān *vis-ā-vis* the Emperor. He says in one of his petitions addressed to Akbar that, when he visited the Imperial envoy he got down from his steed and walked quite a long distance before reaching his camp. When he saw the (vacant) Imperial throne he took off his shoes, bowed low and then received the royal *farman* at the hands of Faizī.[10] Right through his long

[7] *Fer.*, II, 288. [8] *Fer.*, II, 289. [9] *Ibid.*, I, 151.

[10] Abu'l-Faiz Faizi, son of Shaikh Mubarak and brother of Abu'l-Fazl, was the Imperial envoy to the Deccan from 10-8-999/3-6-1591 to 1001-1593. A series of his reports to the Emperor from the Deccan are contained in the collection of his letters *Tabashiru's-Subh*, MSS. Salar Jang Library, Haidarabad, *Adab Farsi*, 31. The episode of Raja 'Ali Khan making obeisance to the vacant throne will be found on p. 10. Here it might be mentioned that whatever Faizi says about Golkonda is all hearsay as he never came nearer the capital of Tilangana than Ahmadnagar, and he was never favourably inclined to any of the Deccan kingdoms, which he does not consider to have even a semblance of independence. Thus he calls 'Ibrahim-Quli' the jagirdar of Bijapur (p. 31), and says that Chaul was included in the 'jagir' of Nizamu'l-mulk (p. 38) and Gulbarga in the 'jagir' of 'Adil Khan (p. 53). He is all praises for Raja 'Ali Khan's nephew as he had "a feeling of deep loyalty towards His Majesty even *in absentia*" and was not "devoid of the quintessence of goodness" (p. 31). The only personality which he considers outstanding on the Deccan is Burhan who had been under Akbar's umbrage since 992/1584, for he considered himself to have been "lifted up from the very dust" by Akbar, and owed his existence to His Majesty (p. 27). It is surprising how, in spite of the vast resources he must have had at his command, he knew so little about the conditions of the Deccan. He calls the king of Tilang "Ahmad-Quli" and the king of Bijapur "Ibrahim-Quli" (p. 31) which is all wrong. He is naturally vocal about Ahmadnagar, the immediate target of Akbar's expansionist policy southwards, and calls it a city "full of noise and

reign of thirty-one years he was a staunch supporter of the Mughal power in the Deccan. Ultimately he was killed fighting for the Mughals in the great battle fought near Sonepat on the banks of the Godavari on 17-6-1005/26-1-1597.[11]

In spite of the Mughal conquest of Gujarat and Malva and the protectorate over Khandēsh, and in spite of the internal turmoil in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar itself, its conquest proved to be a very difficult task. The conditions in that kingdom seemed so favourable to the Mughals that it appeared like a ripe fruit ready to fall in the lap of Akbar's army at its bidding; but it was after two major attempts lasting many years that the kingdom of Ahmadnagar was finally eliminated.

Dynastic Turmoil at Ahmadnagar

While delineating the progress of Mughal influence in the Deccan we have strayed slightly from the important events unfolding themselves in the Nizāmshahi kingdom, where the first contacts between the Mughal army and the army of Tilang-Andhra was about to take place. Ahmadnagar had been in a state of confusion ever since the flight of Burhān to Akbar's court in 992/1584. There was a most unnatural rivalry between Murtazā Nizām Shah and his son the Crown Prince Mīrān Ḥusain since his marriage to Bībī Khadījā Sulṭān, popularly known as Rājā Jiō, sister of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur.[12] Murtaza had been a complete failure in administrative matters, and was so fickle and uncertain in his own likes and dislikes that he appointed as many as five pēshwas or Prime Ministers within a few months. One of them, Mīr Sādiq,

evil, . . . where the dissolute and the libertines abound" (pp. 27, 28). This may be true of the objective to which the Nizamshahi kingdom had reached; but Faizi had not stepped beyond that city, and quite naturally his data about the rest of the Deccan is unreliable. See also Appendix II, note 7.

[11] *Fer.*, II, 289. The date of the battle of Sonepat is variously given by *Fer.*, I, 270 as 17-6-1005, and *Fer.*, II, 163 as 18-6-1005. The battle, in fact, raged for two days; these two dates correspond with 17—18-1-1597 not with 26-1-1597 as in *Briggs*, III, 308.

[12] *Fer.*, II, 57, gives the name of the Princess. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah was affectionately known as *Jagat Guru* or "the Universal Preceptor"; he ruled Bijapur from 23-2-998/22-12-1589 to 11-1-1037/12-9-1627. His long reign saw the elimination of Bijapur's rival, the Nizamshahi State from the map.

was in office for just nine days.[13] It is related that it was due partly to his madness which he is reputed to have contracted that Murtazā became the deadly enemy of his own son Mīrān Ḥusain, and ordered the kōtwal (Police Commissioner) of Daulatābād where the Prince was, to put him to death. But the son had luck with him. He escaped from Daulatābād, hurried to the capital and, in his turn, had his father suffocated to death! The young Mīrān now proclaimed himself king on 18-7-996/13-6-1587. But he was not destined to rule for long and was himself murdered by the dakhnīs who raised Ismā'īl, son of the futigive Burhān, to the throne in preference to his elder brother, Ibrāhīm, who was the son of a negress and whom the dakknīs found too dark to be their king.[14] The accession of Ismā'īl is a landmark in the downward trend of the Nizāmshāhi State, for it brought about the ascendency of the Mahdawī cult in Ahmadnagar in preference to Shī'ism which had been the state religion ever since Shāh Ṭāhir converted the royal family to that faith in the reign of Burhān I.[15]

[13] For a list of these peshwas, see *Bur.*, 555, 558.

[14] Miran Hussain Nizam Shah, 18-7-996/13-6-1587—12-5-997/13-3-1588. Ibrahim Nizam Shah. 12-5-997/13-3-1588—13-7-997/18-5-1589.

[15] For Shah Tahir see Sherwani, 'Sultan-Quli Qutb'l-Mulk', Part II, *J.I.H.*, April 1956, p. 24, n. 102.

Syed Muhammad Mahdi, the founder of the Mahdawi sect, was born at Jaunpur in eastern Uttar Pradesh in 647/1443. He was a precocious child, and when he grew up, he became famous as a man of great learning and wide intellect. He slowly gyrated towards Gujarat, and it was during a pilgrimage to Mecca that he proclaimed himself to be Mahdi or the great "Guide" whose advent was supposed to have been predicted by the Prophet Muhammad as one of the signs of the approaching Day of Judgment. He seems to have worked certain miracles, and Ferishta was himself impressed by the so-called signs of the Mahdi which were found in him (*Fer.*, II, 150). He created such an impression in the capital of Gujarat that Sultan Muhmād Begada (1458-1511) wanted to meet him but was dissuaded by the nobles of the court lest he be converted to the Mahdawi creed by the Syed who possessed miraculous power. It was not long before he had to leave Ahmadabad for Patan-Anhilwara, and then to northern India but even then, there was no peace for him and he had to leave to die at Farah beyond the borders of India on 19-10-910/23-4-1505. After his death, his followers were severely persecuted in Gujarat by Sultan Muzaffar II (1511-1526) but they persisted in their faith. It is related that the last two Sultans of Gujarat, Mahmud II (1554-61) and Muzaffar III (1561-73) were Mahdawis. As will be seen in the text, a large section of the nobles of Ahmadnagar, headed by Isma'ilNizam Shah, were converted to the faith, and in spite of the persecution at the hands of the

Religious antagonism now became imbedded in racial antagonism, for the party in power consisted of dakhnī nobles most of whom were Mahdawīs, while most of the gharībs or Newcomers in opposition were of the Shī'ah faith and of Persian extraction. On Ismā'īl's accession, many of the gharībs were expelled to Bijapur on 1-10-997/3-8-1589, and we learn from Ferishta that a few weeks later, on 19-2-998/18-12-1589, he too left Ahmadnagar for Bijapur, where he wrote his famous chronicle *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* named after the reigning Sulṭān of Bijapur.[16]

It was about this time that Burhān came back to the Deccan from his jāgīr near Delhi to claim his patrimony against his son Ismā'īl. In the battle fought on 13-7-799/27-4-1591 Burhān was victorious and he ascended the throne. The struggle was not so much between father and son as between the Shī'ah and the Mahdawīs, and the former had now the upper hand. Burhān immediately put an end to the Mahdawī heterodoxy and re-enthroned Shī'ism as the religion of the Nizāmshahi State.[17] But Burhān's reign also failed to put any order in the administration, and when he died on 18-8-1003/18-4-1598 he left the embers of discontent smouldering after him. On his death-bed he appointed his elder son Ibrāhīm (who had been disinherited on Mīrān Husain's death) to be his successor. To add fuel to the fire, the new king proved to be a man without any vision, and the few months he was destined to rule were marked by further rifts in the body-politic of the State. He allowed a party at the Court to treat Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's envoy, Mīr Ṣafawī with disrespect, with the result that the weak Ahmadnagar kingdom had to fight a losing battle with the army of Bijapur at Naldrug where Ibrāhīm was killed by an arrow. This was on 8-12-1003/5-8-1594.

Shī'ah section of the aristocracy, and later, at the hands of Aurangzeb, they are still found in parts of Gujarat, Sindh, Haidarabad Deccan, and in far off Kirman in Pakistan. For further information, in English, on the Mahdawis see Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vols., 6 and 8; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol.3; Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, pp. 227 ff.

Burhan Nizam Shah I; 911/1505—20-1961/27-12-1553.

[16] *Fer.*, 147, 150.

[17] *Ibid.*, 156. Burhan Nizam Shah II; 999/1591—8-8-1003/8-4-1595.

Chānd Bībī

Ibrāhīm's death saw the further widening of the rift which marked the different self-seeking groups in the ruling aristocracy of Ahmadnagar.[18] The candidature of Ibrāhīm's infant son, Bahādur was sponsored by Murtazā's sister, 'Alī 'Adil Shah's widow, Chānd Bībī, who had returned to Ahmadnagar ostensibly on the pretext of condoling the death of her brother but really because she felt she had no place in the highly charged atmosphere of Bijapur.[19] But she found Ahmadnagar to be in a more chaotic condition. The Mughals were at its gates, and this fact influenced the policy of the clique that held the reins of government and also its opponents who wanted to oust those in power. The ruling clique, headed by Miyān Manjū, the Pēshwā, would not countenance the rule of the astute Chānd Bībī, and so the Peshwa now quietly imprisoned the infant Bahādur and proclaimed one Aḥmad, believed to be a descendant of Burhān II, as king.[20] Besides there was

[18] *Fer.*, II, 156, says that Ibrahim reigned for 4 months and 2 days (*du ruz*) but this is evidently wrong, and "two days" should really be read as "ten days" (*dih ruz*). He thus reigned 8-8-1003/8-4-1595—29-11-1003/31-7-1595.

[19] Much romance has gathered round the name and personality of this valiant Queen. Meadowes Taylor's well-known historical romance, *The Noble Queen* was perhaps the first essay of its kind in English. Profuse extracts of the book have been given by Gribble in his *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 211-41 in his chapter entitled "The Story of Queen Chand and the fall of Ahmadnagar." Ahmadu'l-lah Qadiri's book, the *Memoirs of Chand Bibi* and his Urdu book *Sawanih Chand Bibi* contain quite a good number of references. One or two novels have also been written in Urdu with the Queen as the heroine. Without doubt she stands out as one of the greatest women that India has produced, and the impression she creates in the minds of those who read the events of her life is enhanced by the fact that her struggle was absolutely selfless.

[20] Ahmad's father Shah Tahir claimed to be the son of Prince Khudabandah, one of the sons of Burhan I. But while Burhan II, grandson of Burhan I, was at the court of Akbar, he had given out that Khudabandah had died childless. Bahadur was only a year and nine months old at the time of Ibrahim's death, while Ahmad was twelve years of age; see *Fer.*, II, 58 and *Bur.*, 554. Prof. Siddiqui is mistaken when he says on p. 65 of his *Muqaddamah Tarikh Dakan* that Ahmad was the son of Shah Tahir the famous divine who was instrumental in converting Burhan Nizam Shah I to the Shi'ah faith in the middle of the tenth century A. H., nearly fifty years before Ibrahim's death. I must confess I have made the same

the section of the Ḥabashī party headed by Ikhlās Khān who proclaimed a person of unknown extraction named Mōtī as the Sultān, while another Ḥabashi noble named Ahang Khān crossed over to Bijapur and there found one Mirān 'Alī, an old man of seventy (who was then living at the 'Ādilshāhī court and who claimed to be the son of Burhān Nizām Shah I), brought him over to Bīṛ along with his twenty-year old son, and proclaimed him king of Ahmadnagar.[21]

Thus Miyān Manjū was opposed not merely by the legitimist group led by Chānd Bībī, but by all sections of the Ḥabashi party, which, though divided, would not see eye to eye with him. Knowing how critical the state of affairs was, Ikhlās Khān lost no time in having Mōtī Shah's *khutbah* read and coins struck.[22] Miyān Manjū was greatly overcome by these developments, and sent word to Prince Murād, who was then in Gujarat, to come and help him in ousting the usurper. The die had now been cast, and the road to the Deccan lay wide open for Akbar's forces.

Akbar had been long awaiting an opportunity to interfere actively in the affairs of the Deccan.[23] As early as 988/1580 "envoys from Quṭbu'l-Mulk" had been received in audience by the Emperor, and although "they extolled" and flattered him," it was clear that the "Marzbānān-i Dakan" were not prepared to accept orders from Agra.[24] Moreover, the reports sent by Abu'l-Faiz Faizī were none too promising.[25] In 1000/1592 Akbar

mistake in my paper 'Sultan-Quli, the First Ruler of Medieval Tilangana', Part 2, *J. I. H.*, April 1956, p. 102.

21 *Bur.*, p. 650. *Bir.*, hqrs. of the district of that name, Maharashtra State; 18° 59′ N., 75° 46′ E.

22 *Fer.*, II, 158.

23 Count von Noer says in his book *The Emperor Akbar*, II, 326: "Akbar hovered like an eagle on the northern horizon and watched the fighting cocks of the southern states rending and wearing each other, until his own time should come to prey on them". Whatever the real motives of the Imperialist expansion in the Deccan might be, Akbar's chronicler and confidant, Abu'l Fazl says in his *Akbarnamah* that "if they (the rulers of the Deccan) would not administer justice and cherish their people, they were to be properly punished and the case of the inhabitants was to be entrusted to sympathetic persons"; Beveridge's translation, p. 701.

24 *Akbarnamah*, II, 162.

25 Faizi, *Tabashiru's-Subh*, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-33. This book is variously called *Insha-i Faizi* and *Latifa-i Faizi*. It contains a series of reports sent by Faizi to

appointed Prince Murād to the Governorship of Gujarat, and now that Miyān Manjū had applied to the Prince to interfere in the affairs of Ahmadnagar, there was no further reason for the mincing of words. Murād l ft Aḥmadābād on 20th Aban, 39 R.E./30-10-1594 stopping at Broach on the way, while 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i Khānān started from Bhilsa in Central India on 9th Amardad/19-7-1595 and joined the Prince at Chanḍōr about fifty miles from Ahmadnagar on 9th Azur, 40 R.E./29-11-1595. The united forces were joined by Raja 'Alī Khān of Khāndēsh.[26] Within Ahmadnagar the turmoil was still continuing. After

Akbar when he was the Emperor's envoy in the Deccan. The whole burden of these reports is that, except for Raja "Ali Khan of Khandesh, who had accepted the Imperial protectorate, and Burhan II of Ahmadnagar who considered himself to have been "lifted up from the very dust by His Majesty" there was no Deccan potentate on whom reliance could be placed. To Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah he refers in very sneering terms as being "steeped in Shi'ism" and having as his mistress "an old prostitute named Bhagmati"! Of course, all that he wrote about Muhammad-Quli was just hearsay, for he never stepped beyond Ahmadnagar. For the Bhagmati story see Appendix II. Parts of Faizi's reports have been translated into English in *Elliot and Dowson*, VI, pp. 147-49 under the name of *Waqi'at*. Elliot and Dowson say in their introduction:

> "But for the great name of the writer, the letters scarcely deserve notice.... They are of a gossiping, familiar character.... All these letters were translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lieut. Pritchard, and it is to be regretted that they were not more worthy of the labours bestowed upon them."

The missions sent to the Deccan potentates were all a failure from the Imperialist point of view, and as Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan says in his article on *The Deccan Policies and Campaigns of the Mughals*, I. C., 1944, pp. 301 ff., the reports from the envoys showed that "the Deccan kings had no inclination to offer unconditional allegiance to the Mughal Emperor." See also note 10, above.

26 *Akbarnamah*, III, 476-77. The dates in this book are calculated according to the Regnal year of Akbar and the Persian months were super-imposed on the Fasli year by the Emperor in 990 H. The Fasli year, which was called *Ilahi*, as it was supposed to be the result of Divine inspiration, (*Akbarnamah*, II, p. 8), was really the Solar Hijri year, but was not calculated according to the solar reckoning from the *hijrat* or Migration of the Prophet as from 990 H., with the result that an error of more than ten years has persisted. The Fasli year was the official year in Haiderabad State during the Asafjahi period, and is still the official *revenue* year in the U.P. and Bengal. It may be of interest to know that the era which is current in Afghanistan and Iran at present is the correct Hijri solar year calculated from the time of the actual *hijrat* of the Prophet. See the illuminating brochure *Islah san Fasli mrawwajah* by Makhdum Husain, Haiderabad, 1330

sending urgent summons to Prince Murād, Miyān Manjū felt strong enough to give battle to his rival Ikhlās Khān near the 'Īdgāh on 25-1-1004/20-9-1595. Ikhlās Khān was defeated and had to flee from the city, while Miyān Manjū took the pretender Shāh 'Alī prisoner. But when the joint army of the Mughals, twenty-five thousand strong, was seen to invest the city on 23-4-1004/16-12-1595 Miyān Manjū realised his mistake, and knew that it was not civil war which would decide the fate of the kingdom but the formidable army which the State had to face. He now knew the seriousness of the situation. Although he was no friend of Chānd Bībī, he filled the fort with ample provisions and transferred the ultimate command of the kingdom to her.[27] Taking his protégé Aḥmad with him, he left Ahmadnagar for Aussa on the Bijapur frontier and there he appealed to Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah for help against the common enemy. It was now that Chānd Bībī put her grand-nephew, the infant Bahādur, on the throne in order, perhaps, to gain the sympathy of all sections of the population. The appeal to Golkonda and Bijapur was perhaps supported by Chānd Bībī herself as, although there was perpetual warfare raging in the Deccan, there was a tradition that "if a foreign army entered their country they united their forces and fought against the enemy, notwithstanding the dissensions and quarrels they had among themselves."[28]

Fasli. The dates given in the *Akbarnamah* have the Perso-Fasli months attached to the regnal year, and the corresponding Gregorian dates in this text have been copied from Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 1045-47. Certain discrepancies in the calculation have cropped up but they are not important, as they are not of more than a day or two. I have generally followed the dates in *Bur.*, as the author was present within the citadel during the siege, and the corresponding Gregorian dates have been computed according to Pillai's scholarly work, the *Indian Emphemeris*.

[27] *Fer.*, II, 159.

Broach: headquarters of a district on the right bank of Narbada, Maharashtra State; 21° 42′ N., 72° 59′ E.

Chandor: headquarters of a taluqa, Nasik district, Maharashtra State; 20° 20′ N., 74° 15′ E.

[28] Faizi Sarhindi, *Akbarnamah*; *Elliot and Dowson*, VI, 116. *Bur.*, 596, says that before Manju left Ahmadnagar he came to Chand Bibi and begged her to accept his homage. Von Noer, p. 330, seems to think that it was fear on the part of "Bijapur and Haidarabad", which impelled the rulers to send help to Ahmad-

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah correctly gauged the situation and sent messengers to various claimants to the Nizāmshāhī throne and their protectors not to quarrel among themselves but to ward off the Mughal aggression first, and then decide who should ascend the throne. He and Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh responded to the appeal of Chānd Bībī; but instead of sending their contingents to Ahmadnagar, they sent them to the strategic post of Naldrug which was situated on the border separating Tilang and the Bijapur territory from the Nizāmshāhī kingdom.[29] This move was no doubt designed to protect the flank of the two kingdoms against the possible advance of the Mughal troops, as well as to provide a reserve; but it could not give immediate succour to the defenders of Ahmadnagar proper, where the Mughal onslaught was imminent, as Naldrug happened to be more than a hundred miles from the besieged capital. Tilang-Andhra and Bijapur were represented at Ahmadnagar by their envoys Hāji Muḥammad Isfahāni and Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad Lārī respectively, and it is interesting to note that the author of Burhān-i Ma'āsir, 'Ali b. 'Azīz Tabātabā, was also present there while the great siege was going on.[30]

nagar. There was no question of any 'fear' but rather the general desire to keep away the northern armies which had not been seen in the Deccan ever since the declaration of Deccan independence by Nasiru'd-din Ismai'l in September, 1346; see *Bahmanis*, p. 30. This urged them to make a common cause against the Mughals. *Munt.*, 252, says that Chand Bibi herself sent urgent messages to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah for help. We must remember that Chand Bibi was a princess of Ahmadnagar, being the daughter of Husain I, a sister of Burhan II and an aunt of Ibrahim, the father of her *protege* Bahadur. She was at the same time the widow of 'Ali 'Adil Shah and aunt of his successor and nephew Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II. Apart from that she was the direct descendant of Qara Yusuf through his son Jahan Shah while Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah was decended from Jahan Shah's own brother Mirza Sikandar. Thus, in a way, she united in her the traditions of all the three dynasties which were then ruling in the Deccan.

Ausa: headquarters of a taluqa in Osmanabad district, Maharashtra State; 18° 75′ N., 77° 30′ E.

[29] *Bur.*, 596, says that Manju paid homage to Chand Bibi, while his co-operation with her administration is evidence by his making full provisions for the defence of the capital; see *Fer.*, II, 159. See also Von Noer, *The Emperor Akbar*, II, 327. The army sent by Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah under Mahdi-Quli Sultan was composed of five or six thousand horse according to *Fer.*, II, 160; *Munt.*, 257, says that the total number of the allied horses reached 60 thousand while *Bur.*, 625, says that Bijapur sent 30 thousand horse and Tilang 10 thousand.

[30] *Fer.*, II, 159. The envoys, *Bur.*, 598.

The Mughal army appeared before the walls of Ahmadnagar on 23-4-1004/16-12-1595.[31] Chānd Bībī, who was now in sole charge of the defence of the capital, appointed Muḥammad Khān as her vakīl or Prime Minister. It appears that the appeal of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh had the desired effect, and we find the old Mīrān Shāh 'Alī, who had been proclaimed king by Ahang Khān, coming into line with Chānd Bībī and fighting against the Mughals. Although the armies from Golkonda were stationed at Naldrug, the presence of the envoys at Ahmadnagar must have had a heartening effect on the defenders. Evidently, in order to check the progress of the Mughals, Chānd Bībī had sent a *posse* of troops to Bīṛ, but this was either defeated or outflanked by the Mughal army, for it took its stand on Kālā Chabūtrā in Ahmadnagar. The first encounter between 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i-Khānān and Muḥammad Khān took place on Tuesday, 24-4-1004/17-12-1595. In the beginning, it seemed certain that the Mughal army would be defeated, but at the approach of the evening fresh troops were thrown in the fray under Prince Murād, and this turned the possible defeat into victory. Barring the citadel, the city of Ahmadnagar fell into the hands of the invaders.[32] Murād had given strict orders that the inhabitants of the city and their property should be spared, yet Shahbāz Khān Kambōh, who was attached to Khān-i Khānān, looted the city the very next day and razed to the ground many public and private buildings including certain edifices sacred to the Shī'ah, thus making enemies of the population which both Khān-i Khānān and the Prince wished to win over. The Prince took Shahbāz Khān to task for his high-handedness; but the harm had been done already.[33]

[31] *Bur.*, *ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*, 603. Cp. *Fer.*, II, 159. *Bur.* gives 24-4-1004 as the day on which the battle began. There are certain other divergences between *Bur.* and *Fer.* but they are not of a very great importance; thus *Fer.* says that Murad took part in the battle from the very beginning.

[33] *Bur.*, 605. The destruction of certain 'ashurkhanas at the hands of the invading forces must have been incited the Shi'ah inhabitants of the capital who had so recently got the better of the Mahdawi clique. The long-drawn fight for Ahmadnagar, which lasted for more than a generation, may have been caused by the antipathy of the Shi'ah population towards the aggressors. It is expressly stated in *Akbarnamah*, III, 476, that Shahbaz Khan belonged to the Khan-i

Thus, while the Mughals were victorious everywhere against the scattered Nizāmshāhī forces, the citadel was still in Chānd Bībī's possession, and a formidable force of the united contingents of Tilang and Bijapur was stationed at Naldrug. The question which had to be decided by the Mughal command was whether Naldrug was to be reduced first, or an attempt made to capture the Ahmadnagar fort. The generals and high dignitaries advised Prince Murād to reduce Ahmadnagar immediately before help could reach the defending garrison.

We have the record of an interesting letter from Raja 'Alī Khān addressed to Chānd Bībī in which he appeals to her to lay down her arms. He says that it was mainly to save the Kingdom that he had accompanied the Mughal army. He warns the defenders that this army was so strong that it could reduce the fort almost without an effort, and instead of losing so many lives in the vain attempt to defend the citadel, it would be advisable to submit to the Mughals and in return "to keep any fort and any province of the kingdom". When this letter reached the garrison it created great consternation among the defenders. But Chānd Bībī was not a person to be cowed down so easily, and on her behalf Afzal Khān wrote back to Raja 'Alī Khān expressing great surprise at the tone of the letter and telling him that the Sulṭāns of the Deccan would never forget the way in which the Mughals had launched this attack on their country. He also told him bluntly that the time would soon come when the invading army would have to retrace their steps homewards.[34]

The defences of Ahmadnagar were so strong that it was impossible to capture the fort except by mining the walls. It took three days to lay five mines under the battlements, and it was intended to fire them after Friday prayers on 1-7-1004/20-2-1596.[35] But

Khanan group, and this explains the anger of Prince Murad at his depredations. On the other hand, the unity of all political parties within the citadel was truly remarkable, for we find Miyan Manju, Moti Shah, Ahang Khan and others all striving to ward off the invaders.

[34] The complete letter as well as its reply would be found in *Bur.*, 613.

[35] "Three months" is evidently wrong in the Lucknow edition of *Fer.*, I, 269. Again *Briggs*, III, 301, wrongly states that the first of Rajab was Tuesday; for it is expressly stated both in *Bur.*, 615 and *Fer.*, 160 that the day on which the mines were to be fired was Friday. It is also stated that the laying of the mines was completed in the evening previous to Friday.

the defenders proved to be more alert than the aggressors and had their spies in the enemy's camp. Khwāja Muḥammad Khān Shīrāzī, who was without doubt one of them, came to know of the plan, and "for purely humane and noble purposes" secretly informed the commander of the citadel the exact spots where the mines had been laid. Chānd Bībī immediately ordered that countermines should be burrowed in the ramparts, removed gunpowder from two of the mines and filled them with stones and rubble. She wanted all the mines to be so treated, but she could not do so for want of time. She personally supervised the work and was actually seen digging the trenches. It was then that Prince Murād ordered the firing of the mines, and he must have been greatly surprised at finding that two of the mines were already 'dead'. Chānd Bībī "now put on her armour, and with a veil on her face and a naked sword in her hand, flew to defend the trenches". The high dignitaries of the capital as well as the envoys from Haidarabad and Bijapur all turned towards the breach, which had been caused by the firing of three mines, with all the forces they could command. So great was the enthusiasm that even those who had never handled a gun (like the 'Ādilshāhi envoy) took charge of pieces of artillery and began to fire. Chānd Bībī is said to have brought some poison to the firing line with a resolve that, if the fortress fell, she would commit suicide rather than be taken prisoner. Exchange of gun shot led to hand to hand fighting resulting in terrible massacre on both sides, and this went on till nightfall. But even during the night there was no rest for Chānd Bībī or her men. She set upon to close the breach made by the three mines which had been successfully fired, and had a wall four or five yards high erected in the breach, in the dead of the night. Guns, rockets and pieces of artillery were brought to the place. The next day the fire of the defenders was so effective that they drove back successive storming parties of the aggressors who attempted to gain admittance into the citadel through the breaches which had been built over the previous night.[36]

[36] *Bur.*, 615-23, where "purely humane and noble purpose" is mentioned. See also *Fer.*, II, 161. The quotation is from *Briggs*, III, 302. The height of the wall built by the defenders is mentioned as being three or four yards while *Fer.* has two or three yards. I believe that Burhan's estimate is correct, as apart from the fact that its author was present at Ahmadnagar during the siege, a wall of two or three yards would be purposeless.

Famine was threatening both the camps. While scarcity within the citadel needs no explanation, the Mughal camp was faring no better, for both the army stationed at Bīṛ and the allied forces at Naldrug were intercepting all supplies on their way to the Mughals. Murād, hedged in on all sides, now thought it best to make overtures to Chānd Bībī, and sent a messenger to her to nominate a delegation with which he might enter into *pourparlers*. It was on 10-7-1004/29-2-1596 that the delegation reached the Mughal camp and was formally presented to Prince Murād, who received it in a right royal manner, and presented robes of honour and Arab steeds to its members. The actual conference began the next day and went on for a number of days. Berar was conceded to the Mughals, and in return they agreed to withdraw from the rest of the kingdom. The cession of Berar was painful to Chānd Bībī who was at first averse to accept it. But Khān-i Khānān pointed out that Berar had been promised to the Emperor by Burhān while he was at the Imperial court, and the time had arrived for that promise to be fulfilled. Moreover, Chānd Bībī was advised that if she rejected these conditions it was quite possible that the Mughals would carry on the fighting to a finish. Anyhow, the treaty was signed, and the Mughal army with Prince Murād and Khān-i Khānān retraced their steps via Daulaṭābād leaving the bulk of the old Nizāmshahi kingdom intact.[37]

[37] Burhan's promise: *Fer.*, I, 269. The full details of this highly interesting Conference are given in *Bur.*, 627-32, and they throw full light on the international relations of those days. It might be noted that the word used there for delegation is *hijab* while *rasul* is used for an envoy.

We find that the proposal for a conference between the combatants first emanated from Prince Murad in a letter addressed to the garrison by Syed Murtaza of Berar who was in the Prince's retinue. To this a reply was received that it should be the Prince himself who should begin the negotiations. On receiving this reply the Mughals sent Mir Hashim Madani, who remained in the Fort for more than ten days. When he expressed a desire to return to his own camp, rich and valuable presents were sent through him for the Prince as well as for Khan-i Khanan and other high officers of the Mughal army. He was also accompanied by Afzal Khan Qummi as the Ahmadnagar envoy to the Mughal camp as well as by Muhammad Zamam Khan Mushhadi and Shah Bahram Astarabadi. At the Peace Conference itself, this delegation was faced by Khan-i Khanan, Shahbaz Khan and Sadiq Muhammad Khan. The details of the Conference and the speeches of the members of the two delegations make inter-

Looking back at the strange episode of the war-torn Ahmadnagar defeating the mighty army of Akbar, we would find that this demonstrated for a second time within thirty years how a strong enemy could be met successfully if the Deccan Sulṭānates were to unite. In 1565 it was the League of the Four Sulṭāns which gained the day; in 1595 it was a house divided against itself leagued with Tilang and Bijapur, which had defeated a mighty enemy. Strategically also, the Deccan had proved its superiority; for, with the forces of the allies massed at Naldrug and a possé of Ahmadnagar troops in readiness at Bīṛ the Mughal army was hedged in on all sides. Although it must have been disappointing for the Ahmadnagar garrison at first that the help sent by the allies should stop at Naldrug and not march straight on to Ahmadnagar, the strategy of the allies proved to be efficacious in the long run. Then again, the high statesmanship of Chānd Bībī, her dynastic connections, and her great valour and intrepidity as a soldier, showed in vivid contrast to the cracks in the Mughal command caused by the continued rift between Prince Murād and Khān-i Khānān.[38] The conduct of Muḥammad Khān Shīrāzī also demonstrated that all was not well with the average Mughal soldier. The imminent danger to the Nizāmshāhī kingdom had been warded off by the cession of Berar, but it was still to be seen how long the internal unity of Ahmadnagar was to last and what

esting reading. How different is the attitude and conduct of Chand Bibi to that of Raja 'Ali Khan of Khandesh, for which see above, note 10. For the detailed Proceedings of this Conference see Appendix I.

The treaty is twisted by Abu'l Fazl in a very adroit manner thus: "The garrison . . . represented that they would take Bahadur, Burhan's grandson, out of prison and give this child the title of Nizamu'l-mulk, and would make him a servant of the sublime court, that the territory of Ahmadnagar should be made his fief, and that a thanks-offering of the country of Berar would be made over to the victorious army"; Beveridge, *Akbarnamah*, III, p. 1048. How the same event can be so differently interpreted by diplomats of the two sides!

[38] For disagreement in the Mughal camp, see *Akbarnamah*, III, 477, wherein a diary of the siege is recorded. See also Beveridge's translation, 1046-47; Von Noer, II, 331. The disagreement between the Prince and Khan-i Khanan seems to have started even before their meeting at Chandor. The difficulties in the way of the Mughals are stated in a nutshell in *Akbarnamah*: "things became difficult on account of dissensions in the army, the closing of the roads and want of food." Beveridge, III, 1047.

lesson the Mughals would themselves take from their obvious defeat.

Fall of Ahmadnagar

The turn of the tide was soon to come, and this was preceded by the usual dissensions and turmoil at Ahmadnagar. While Chānd Sultānā was resolved to see Bahādur placed firmly on the throne Miyān Manjū would have no other ruler except Aḥmad. Now a strange thing happened which clearly pointed to the depths to which the kingdom had fallen. The rift between the factions became so wide and unbridgeable that the Queen invited her nephew Ibrāhīm of Bijapur to come and arbitrate between her and her antagonists. The idea of asking the king of a state which was the sworn enemy of Ahmadnagar to interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom would have been anathema to the local politicians; but then Miyān Manjū had set the ball rolling by inviting Prince Murād to invade it. The result of Ibrāhīm's arbitration was a foregone conclusion and Bahādur was confirmed on the throne. Not only that; the King of Bijapur actually sent his general Suhail Khān with a large expeditionary force and ordered him to remain at the Nizāmshāhī capital to support Chānd Bībī in case of emergency. But worse was still to come. Muḥammad Khān, the minister, chafed at this apparent success of the Queen, whom he regarded as an intruder, and invited Khān-i Khānān, who was in Berar, to capture the citadel and place Ahmad on the throne; in return the Mughals were to gain suzerainty over the Aḥmednagar kingdom. The news, however, leaked out, and Muḥammad was confined to the citadel. But it was too late, and when Khān-i Khānān began his fateful march the die had been cast once for all.

Chānd Sultānā now sent urgent messages to Bijapur and Haidrabad for help. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah sent Suhail Khān, who had returned to Bijapur, while Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh sent Mahdī Qulī Sulṭān with a large army to fight the common enemy. The allied armies now marched towards Berar to meet the Mughals in their own occupied territory and the belligerent armies met at Sonepet on the Godavari on 18-6-1005/27-1-1597. It was in this hard-fought struggle that many generals of the Mughal army,

such as Raja Jagannāth lost their lives while others like Raja 'Alī Khān of Khāndēsh, who had stood by the Mughals through thick and thin, were wounded beyond recovery.[39] In the first day of the battle, the allies were successful to the extent that they actually penetrated the enemy lines, and the Nizāmshāhī and the Quṭbshāhī contingents were so sanguine that they plundered the enemy camp as much as they could, and retreated homewards.[40] The next day Suhail found himself alone facing the Mughal army. He was not able to follow up his success as Khān-i Khānān drove him from the battlefield, and it was with some difficulty that he could make his way to Naldrug. There is no doubt that with the field clear of the defenders, the Mughal army would not have much difficulty in marching right into Ahmadnagar, but counsels were again divided in the Mughal camp between Prince Murād and Khān-i Khānān who stood in the way of the immediate occupation of the capital, as there were still many forts to deal with on the way. On hearing of this rift, Akbar recalled Khān-i Khānān and appointed Abu'l Fazl to the command of the army of the Deccan.

While all this was happening in the Mughal camp, things were most uneasy at Ahmadnagar and Ahang Khān, the pēshwa, was trying to concentrate all power in his own hands to the exclusion of Chānd Sulṭānā, and he had plans even to seize and imprison her. He succeeded to the extent that he actually reoccupied Bīṛ which had been in Mughal possession. The Emperor was greatly concerned with this set-back and was on the point of replacing Abu'l Fazl, when news arrived that Murād had breathed his last

[39] This account is taken partly from *Fer.*, II, 163-64 and partly from Abu'l Fazl, *Akbarnamah, E. & D.*, VI, p. 95. The date 18-6-1005 corresponds to 16-1-1597, not to 26-1-1597, as in *Briggs*, III, 308; *Ma'asir-i Rahimi, E. & D.*, VI, 221 says that "the Baridshahi chief", meaning 'Ali Barid, II, also sent a contingent. According to Faizi Sarhindi, *Akbarnamah, E. & D.*, VI, 145, Raja Jagannath was alive at the siege of Ahmadnagar and actually "incited the soldiers to rush in" after the breach had been made in the wall. See note 11 above for the battle of Sonepat.

[40] It is significant that even Ferishta, the chief protagonist of the 'Bhagnagar' story, says that the Qutbshahi troops made way to 'Haidarabad' after the first day of the battle of sonepat, i. e., within five years of the foundation of the new capital. He thus counters his own theory propounded in II, 173; *Briggs*, III, 335. See Appendix II.

on May 2, 1599. Akbar now took the opportunity of sending Prince Dāniyāl as the Viceroy of the Deccan provinces along with Khān-i Khānān as the Commander. Dāniyāl now ordered the forward movement of his troops. There was only feeble opposition from the Nizāmshāhī troops, and on reaching the capital the Mughals had immediate recourse to mining operations. The quantity of gunpowder thus expended was enormous, one hundred and eighty maunds being exploded in a single day. Chānd Sulṭānā felt herself friendless and helpless, and thought that the best way to keep even a portion of the kingdom intact, was to make peace with the invaders, But the party opposed to her would have none of it, and even her confidential secretary, the eunuch Ḥamīd Khān, raised a hue and cry and said that the queen was proving to be a traitor to the cause of the independence of the kingdom. They, therefore, put her to death. Once the fortifications were breached by firing the mines, the Mughals entered the fort and carried Bahādur Nizām Shāh and the whole of his family to Burhānpūr from where Akbar was following the events.[41]

The Advent of Malik 'Ambar

The fall of Ahmadnagar had a very disturbing effect on the politics of the Deccan Sultānates. The attempt of Chānd Bībī to present a united front to the northern invaders, her own resourcefulness, her dynastic connections with both Bijapur and Haidarabad, her personal charm, and withal, her intrepidity and courage, all this could save neither the capital nor her own life. From the point of view of the states of the Deccan there were just two silver linings in a very dark cloud: one was the change in the policy of Khāndēsh after the death of Raja 'Alī Khān, and the other

[41] For Chand Bibi see note 19, above. Faizi Sarhindi (*Akbarnamah, E. & D.*, VI, p. 132) says that the siege of Ahmadnagar lasted 4 months and 4 days, and it was on 20 Shahrewar 45 R. Y. of Akbar that the mines were exploded. Shahrewar fell in August-September, and this is confirmed by *Fer.*, I, 271 which says that Ahmadnagar was conquered in the beginning of 1009, which began in July, 1660. The siege must therefore have lasted from about May to August, 1600.

For the siege and the reduction of Ahmadnagar see *Briggs*, III, 309 ff. "Haidarabad", *ibid.*, 309; *E. & D.*, VI, wherein are contained extracts from *Ma'asir-i Rahimi* and the two *Akbarnamahs* of Abu'l-Fazl and Faizi Sarhindi.

was the unscrupulous courage of a section of the nobles of Ahmadnagar under the leadership of the manumitted Negro slave, Malik 'Ambar who put Shāh 'Alī's son (Burhān I's grandson') Murtazā on the shaky throne at Parenḍa in 1012/1603. Raja 'Alī Khān's successor Bahādur Khān Fārūqī offered strong opposition to the Mughal penetration, and it was with a considerable effort that Akbar was able to reduce the fort of Asīrgaṛh and annex Khāndēsh to the Empire.[42] But the opposition of Malik 'Ambar was far more stubborn, and under him the Nizāmshāhī state continued to oppose the mighty Mughal Empire for three decades.

The rise of Malik 'Ambar to supremacy in the Nizāmshāhī state was meteoric. Born in 955/1548 at Ḥarrār in Ethiopia of purely Negro parents, he demonstrated to the world that colour is no bar to a successful career in strategy and administration. He was thrice sold as slave, first to the Qāziu'l Quzāt of Mecca, then to a dealer in slaves, and finally to the Nizāmshāhī *amīr* and statesman, Khwāja Mīrak entitled Changīz Khān. While it was the Qāzi of Mecca who gave 'Ambar proper civil education and training as he would give to his own son, it was Changīz who made him a master in the art of war and strategy which was to be of much good service to him in later life.[43] It is interesting to note that after Changīz's execution by the order of Murtaza I in 982/1574, 'Ambar left Ahmadnagar first for Golkonda and then for Bijapur; but as neither of these two capitals proved congenial to him he gyrated back to Ahmadnagar in 1006/1597 after he had spent all that he

[42] For the reduction of Asirgarh and the conquest of Khandesh see *Fer.*, I, 271, II, 291.

It may be pointed out that in this section the early history of Malik 'Ambar, more or less up to the end of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah's reign, has been treated here rather cursorily, as the great statesman's place is essentially in the history of Ahmadnagar and only secondarily in the history of the external policy of Tilang-Andhra. Like Chand Sultana this remarkable man also attempted to unite the Deccan Sultanates against the Mughals, and as such at least a section had to be devoted to him.

[43] For the early life of Malik 'Ambar see his *Biography* (in Urdu) by Shaikh Chand, Haidarabad, 1350 H., ch. 1 and 2. This part of the narrative has been culled from Shilli Hazrami, *'Iqdu'l-Jawahir wa'l-Durur* and Amin Muhibbi, *Khulasatu'l-asar fi Nuru'l-safar*. Also see *Tadh.*, fol. 114 (a), 172 (b), 175 (6) where his vast public works and administrative talents are also described. Also, Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'athiru'l-Umara*, for a general account of the Malik's life and his work.

possessed. It is said that he happened to find a big treasure trove and was thus able to get together a small army of 150 horse as a kind of personal guard. Ahang Khān who realised Malik Ambar's worth took him into his service, and a short while after, passed him on into the service of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh. The first time we hear him taking part in an important engagement is when he fought in the battle for Bīṛ, which resulted in its evacuation by the Mughal general Shēr Khwāja in 1007/1598.

After the death of Chānd Sulṭānā and the fall of Ahmadnagar, 'Ambar became a prominent member of the Nizāmshahi administration and it was he who backed effectively the enthronement of Murtazā as the king of Ahmadnagar and the removal of the capital to Parenḍa. Internal dissensions due to personal motives were the order of the day, but there were at least two men in the Kingdom, Miyān Rāju Dakhnī and Malik 'Ambar, who wanted to recover the lost territory from the Mughals and regain the pristine glory of the kingdom. It was mainly through their efforts that the fall of Ahmadnagar meant the fall of a single city only; for a very large part of the kingdom remained in the possession of one or the other of the two commanders, and the Mughal occupation army was virtually hemmed in on all sides. The clash between the two forces was invitable and it came on the banks of the Mānjirā where Malik 'Ambar inflicted a severe defeat on the Mughals and captured the Mughal general 'Alī Mardān Khān.[44] In 1010/1601, Prince Dāniyāl sent a petition to his father the Emperor Akbar that 'Ambar had inflicted a defeat on the "ruler of Bīdar" who had tarried in the payment of 'tribute' to him.[45] Dāniyāl could see no way out of the *impasse* in which he had been placed, except to sow seeds of discord in the Nizāmshāhī camp. He sent a message to Murtazā Nizām Shāh egging him to try and free himself from the clutches of the Ḥabashi dictator. Probably it was about this time that the Mughals were successful in enticing Rājū Dakhnī away from Malik 'Ambar. One of the results of Mughal machi-

[44] *Ma'asiru'l-Umara*, I, 774.

Parenda: headquarters of a taluqa, Osmanabad district, Maharashtra State; 18° 16′ N., 75° 27′ E.

[45] Shaikh Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 33; no reference, however, is given for this.

nations was the defeat of Malik 'Ambar at Nāndēṛ in 1010/1601.[46] This victory had its repercussions on the policy of the Deccan Sulṭānates in much the same way as the fall of Ahmadnagar. For instance, in Muharram 1013/June 1604 Ibrāhīm, 'Ādil Shāh was made to marry his daughter Sultān Jahān to the debauchee Dāniyāl who died within a year of his marriage in Dhu'l-Ḥijjah 1013/April 1605, leaving the young girl a widow. In spite of the defeat of Malik 'Ambar, the Mughal commander 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i Khānān showed great cordiality to the leader, and the two met each other in fond embrace both suspecting that the other might strike at his power at the first opportunity.

On the other side, Nizāmshāhi commanders like Patang Rāi, Farhād Khān, Malik Sandal and others urged Murtazā to shake himself off from 'Ambar's yoke and persuaded him to rise against the Malik. 'Ambar, who controlled the resources of practically the whole state, defeated Murtazā towards the end of Rabi' II, 1012/August 1603 and virtually imprisoned him in Parenḍa fort.[47] Murtazā surreptitiously complained to Rājū about the treatment meted out to him. Khān-i Khānān now began to play a double game and actually sent two to three thousand horse to 'Ambar to strike at Rājū, and with this substantial help 'Ambar drove Rājū till he took sanctuary within the walls of the Daulatābād Fort. Malik 'Ambar's star continued to be in the ascendent. In 1013/1604 Akbar's favourite son Salīm, revolted against his father. Akbar was already struck by Murād's death in 1599 and Dāniyāl's death in 1604; and Salīm's revolt now virtually broke the back of the proverbial camel; and the great Emperor died on 13th Jamadi II, 1014/17th October 1605. Things did not prove to be happy even after Salīm's accession to the throne as the Emperor

[46] *Fer.*, II, 165. Details of Daniyal's marriage, *Basatin*, 256, 257. 'Inayatullah, *Takmilah Akbarnamah*, *E. & D.*, VI, 105.

Nander: headquarters of a district, Maharashtra State; 19° 9′ N., 77° 20′ E.

Burhanpur: headquarters of a tehsil, Nimar district, Madhya Pradesh; 21° 18′ N., 76° 14′ E.

[47] *Fer.*, II, 165. It is not true that after putting Murtaza "in confinement", Malik 'Ambar "declared his independence" as *Gribble* I, 250, would have it. All that Ferishta says is that "as Murtaza was constantly intriguing and raising factions against him, he thought it advisable to depose him" but was prevented from doing so by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah whom he seems to have consulted; *Briggs*, III, 319.

Nūru'd-dīn Jahāngīr, for he had to contend the claim of his step brother Khusrau. In the meantime, Malik 'Ambar had penetrated into the Mughal territory as far as Malkāpur which is just thirty miles from the capital of Khāndēsh. He also defeated Rājū in a decisive battle and annexed the whole territory. He now carried Murtazā to Junnār which had been the virtual cradle of the Nizām-shāhī state, and made it once more its capital.[48]

Jahāngīr wanted to send an expedition to the Deccan immediately on his accession; but certain occurrences within the State, such as Khusrau's revolt, and restiveness in the other parts of the Empire, kept him fully occupied for some time. Moreover, a clique was forming against Khān-i Khānān who was accused of being in league with that "evil one, the black-faced and discredited being", 'Ambar. There is hardly any epithet of calumny which the Emperor fails to use for 'Ambar, and the suspicion that Khān-i Khānān was in league with him touched Jahāngīr to the quick. In the meantime, Malik 'Ambar occupied Antūr which had been a Mughal possession for some years, and had it not been for the persuasion of his mother as well as the grandees of the Empire, Jahāngīr himself would have proceeded to the south.[49] Instead of that, in 1018/1609, he sent his son Prince Parvīz as his deputy along with Raja Mānsingh and Asaf Khān to Burhānpūr and Ahmadnagar with twenty thousand horse and ten elephants. This naturally made Malik 'Ambar feel rather insecure. He sent urgent messages to Haidarabad and Bijapur for immediate help and warned Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh and Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh that if he was forced to bow before the Mughals, they would also be swept away and their dynasties eliminated altogether.

There was immediate response from these two Sulṭāns. Ibrāhīm put the strong fort of Qandhār at the disposal of Malik 'Ambar,

[48] *Fer.*, II, 166.

Juner or *Junnar*, headquarters of a taluqa in Poona district, Maharashtra State; 19° 12′ N., 73° 53′ E., its fort, now called Shivneri, was built by Maliku't-Tujjar in the reign of Shihabu'd-Din Ahmad I in 1436 and is the reputed birth-place of Shivaji.

Malkapur: headquarters of a taluqa in the Buldana district, Maharashtra State, on the Nalganga; 20° 53′ N., 76° 44′ E.

[49] Epithets used by Jahangir, e. g. in Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, pp. 220, etc.

Antur: in the Aurangabad district, Maharashtra State; 20° 27′ N., 75° 15′ E.

apart from a large force consisting of ten thousand horse; while Muḥammad-Qulī sent his full quota of sixteen lakh of hons as demanded by the Malik.[50]

Malik 'Ambar had gauged the situation in its proper perspective. Immediately on his arrival in the Deccan, Parvīz ordered his army to march into Malik 'Ambar's territory, while Malik 'Ambar himself marched towards the Mughal border along with the allied army. He was still diffident and sent messages to Bijapur and Haidarabad for further help, which was given. He was perhaps the first to make use of the fighting qualities of light Maratha cavalry and mobilised ten thousand Maratha horse to swell his army for the supreme trial. This light cavalry proved to be of great use and with its help he adopted the scorched earth policy and destroyed everything within a circumference of about sixteen miles around the Mughal headquarters. Khān-i Khānān sensed the seriousness of the situation and advised the Prince not to be lured into the Ahmadnagar territory, but the unscrupulous Prince marched right into 'Ādilābād near Burhānpūr which lay in Malik 'Ambar's country. His forces were incessantly harassed by the Maratha levees; he had to bow before the Malik 'Ambar's superior strategy and flee to Burhānpūr with a safe conduct given by his enemy.[51] Immediately after this, in 1019/1610 'Ambar fell upon the fort of Ahmadnagar, the solitary stronghold of the Nizāmshāhi kingdom which had been in the Mughal hands for ten years and captured it.[52]

[50] Mu'tamad Khan, *Iqbalnamah Jahangiri*, Calcutta, 1865, pp. 36, 38; *Basatin* 263-265.

Qandhar: headquarters of a taluqa in the Nander district, Maharashtra State; 18° 53′ N., 77° 12′ E.

[51] *Basatin*, 266-68; *Iqbalnamah*, 38-39.

[52] *Basatin*, 269-70; *Munt.*, I, 261-62.

Chapter 8

THE BORDERS

Venkata II

WE HAVE digressed much from the internal history of Tilang-Andhra in order to trace the advance of the Mughal influence into the Deccan, and thus, in a way, forestall the march of events in the Quṭbshāhī kingdom. We have brought the story of the Mughal aggression practically to the end of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. The closing years of the Sulṭān's rule were full of moment for the future of the State and it is remarkable how the ease-loving and amorous monarch was, to a large extent, successful in beating back the enemies of the kingdom, mainly owing to his selection of advisers of worth and merit.[1]

The first hurdle which the Kingdom had to overcome was the rebellion of 'Alī Khān Lūr who had been entitled Malik Nā'ib by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. When the king was at Naldrug measuring swords with the army of Bijapur, he had appointed 'Alī Khān to be in charge of Konḍavīḍu. When 'Alī Khān reached the citadel he found that Rāi Rao, the Brahman Commandant, would not quit his charge. Such was the selfishness rampant even in some of the highest officers of the State that instead of appealing to the Sulṭān, 'Alī Khān actually went to the length of appealing to Venkaṭa II of Penūkonḍa for help. Venkaṭa obliged him by ordering his son-in-law Mēkūr Timma to proceed to Konḍavīḍu with three thousand Vijayanagari horse and fifty elephants. The invading army first besieged Kumbum which lay on the way but was driven back and pursued by the royal troops under Rāi Rao, and it was with some difficulty that the traitor 'Ali Khān could

[1] For the amorous propensities of the Sultan see Dr. Zor, *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, pp. 24 ff.; *Kulliyat*, especially, odes to the seventeen amours of the Sultan, pp. 225-81. The complex personality of the monarch can be seen in his ease-loving way of life coupled with his personal interest in the affairs of the State. We see him going to the battlefield fighting shoulder to shoulder with his allies, dispensing justice, patronising literature and art and supervising the construction of the magnificent edifices which are still the glory of the city he founded, and selecting ministers of eminence.

betake himself to Penūkoṇḍa. But he was ill-received by Venkaṭa. He expected no quarters with the Quṭbshāhī command either, and so he collected a private army and ravaged the countryside while the young Sulṭān was away at Naldrug.

When this state of affairs was brought to the notice of the Sulṭān, he sent two of his Paṭhān officers, Raḥīmdād Khān and Ṭāhir Muḥammad Khān against the rebel. They chased him out to Nekoṇḍāpallī and out of the fortress of Addankī. 'Alī Khān now repaired to Nizāmpaṭam and forced the merchants to pay a levy in money as well as in kind, and then with great intrepidity marched on to Koṇḍāvīḍu. He was for some time successful, and was able to take a number of forts one after another. But in the end, the two commanders who had been sent from Golkonda proved to be too strong for him and he was killed in battle.[2]

[2] For the rebellion of 'Ali Khan Lur, see *Q.S.*, pp. 240-43. It should be noted here that his campaigns, like so many others during the Qutbshahi period, had no basis on communalism at all as we know it; for we find Rai Rao, the Brahmin commandant of the Qutbshahi forces, fighting 'Ali Khan Lur, who is actively helped by the Vijayanagar State.

Kumbum, in the Karnul district, Andhra Pradesh; 15° 35′ N., 79° 6′ E.

Dr. Zor, in his Biography of the Sultan p. 246, gives 900-904 H. as the date of the rebellion; but I have not been able to find it mentioned in *Q.S.*, which seems to be the source of his narrative so far as this rebellion is concerned. On the other hand, *N. & V.*, I, 312, seem to think that the advance of the Qutbshahi army into Vijayanagar territory immediately followed the rebellion of 'Ali Khan Lur. This is not vouchsafed by the evidence before us either. 'Ali Khan's rebellion took place while the king was at Naldrug right in the beginning of his reign; see *Q.S.*, 343, where the campaign is said to have been undertaken *before* his founding of Haidarabad in 1000/1592, while the Penukonda campaign which *N. & V.*, tack on to 'Ali Khan's rebellion (III, 312-17) was undertaken "many years" *after* the founding of the new capital (*Briggs*, III, 453). It should be noted that in the chapter on Venkata II, *N. & V.* almost invariably name the king of Tilang Sultan-Quli, while his name was Muhammad-Quli, Muhammad being a part of his name, much as Sultan was a part of the name of his distinguished grandfather, the founder of the dynasty. Venkata II (1588-1614) was in continuous conflict with Muhammad-Quli almost from the time of his accession; see *Aravidu*, p. 325.

Kondavidu, hill fort in Narasaraopet taluqa, Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh, 16° 16′ N., 78° 10′ E. *Kondapalli*, hill fort in Vijayavada taluqa, Krishna district; Andhra Pradesh, 16° 37′ N., 80° 33′ E. *Nekondapalli*, in the Khammammet taluqa in the district of the name, Andhra Pradesh, 17° 7′ N., 80° 3′ E. *Addanki*, in the Ongole taluqa, Guntur district; 15° 49′ N., 79° 85′ E. *Nizampatam*, a small seaport in the Tenali taluqa, Guntur district; 15° 55′ N., 80° 41′ E.

This rebellion itself was of some importance as it opened the eyes of the administration that it was necessary to put the army on a sound basis, as mere freebooters could keep it at bay of such a long time. Moreover, it had involved the Court of Penūkonḍa in a serious quarrel with Tilang, and evidently Muḥammad-Qulī did not forget this attempted stab in the back. Just then, however, he was busy planning and founding the magnificent city of Haidarabad over the plans prepared by his great Pēshwā, Mīr Mu'min.

The Western Border

There was to be no peace for the King even on his western frontier. We have already noticed elsewhere that during the reign of Ibrahīm Quṭb Shāh the two frontier outposts of Kaknī and Nawalkī had been occupied by the Tilang army. The Sultān now appointed his tried general Raḥīmdād Khān, whom he gave the title of 'Ālam Khān, to guard the Bijapur-Tilang frontier.[3] The 'Ādilshāhī pēshwa, Dilāwar Khān Ḥabashī, sent a large army of ten thousand regulars under 'Ainu'l-mulk and 'Askar Khān to dislodge the Tilang forces. Muḥammad-Qulī now approached Murtazā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar to help him. Muratzā immediately responded and sent Mirza Yadgār Bēg, Rustam Khān and Shamshīr Khān with two or three thousand horse towards the frontier. The terrain seemed to be difficult and the allied commanders preferred a guerilla war. The prolonged fighting resulted in the evacuation of the district by the Bijapurīs.

Bijapur was in those days hemmed in by a number of enemies, and Dilāwar Khān considered it advisable to approach Muḥammad-Qulī for a settlement. He therefore sent Khwāja 'Alī Maliku't-Tujjār to Haidarabad with valuable presents for the King accompanied by a proposal for the marriage of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh with Muḥammad-Qulī's sister Chānd Sulṭānā. The cavalcade proceeded to Golkonda, and was received at each stage by deputies of the Haidarabad court and when they reached the capital they were received right royally by the King. The nuptial ceremonies were celebrated *in absentia* and the Princess was taken to Naldrug where Ibrāhīm met her and gave her the title of Malika-i Jahān or "The Queen of the World."[4]

[3] For the attack of Bijapur on Tilang-Andhra, see *Q.S.*, pp. 244-47; *Fer.*, II, 54.
[4] Details of the marriage; *Fer.*, II, 257-58.

Muḥammad-Qulī must have been touched to the quick by the defalcation of 'Alī Khān Lūr's traitorous conduct in seeking the help of Venkaṭa II against his own royal master. He remembered the comparative ease with which his grandfather had subdued Konḍavīḍu and had thus brought practically the whole of the Telugu speaking population under one sceptre.[5] But the Sulṭān was not in a great hurry. He evidently wanted to organise his government and his army before undertaking any punitive expedition, and it was 'many years' before any move was made southwards.[6]

It was in fact only after 1006/1597 that Muḥammad-Qulī sent his Mīr Jumla Amīnu'l-Mulk with a strong force to the south. He had heard that Rāmarāj's son-in-law Basawanta Rāj and his sister's son Narasimha Rāj, were in occupation of the forts of Nandyāl and Kalāgūr respectively, and it was necessary to dislodge them. In order to make the campaign fully effective he himself followed and joined the main army. He crossed the Krishna at Musalimudugu and laid siege to the fort which was soon captured. When Narasimha Rāj heard of this calamity and of the invading army, he thought it futile to offer any resistance, and sent messengers to the royal camp saying that he would lay down his arms provided that he and his family were allowed to depart in safety. The Sulṭān thereupon ordered not merely that his family should be left unmolested but also that his property should be left intact and secure.[7] This was followed by the evacuation of Nandyāl by Basawanta Rāj and the voluntary submission of the other chiefs of the locality all of whom agreed to pay tribute to the Sulṭān in exchange for their being left in possession of their territories. It also resulted in the occupation of the forts of Gooty, Karnūl and Ganḍikōta.[8]

[5] For this see Sherwani, *Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk*, Part II, *J.I.H.*, April 1956, p. 16.

[6] *Briggs*, III, 453; *Q.S.*, 254, say that it was *after* the founding of Haidarabad and the construction of the Jami' Masjid there in 1006/1597 that the expedition was sent.

[7] *Q.S.*, p. 256. *N. & V.*, I, 813, calls the commander "Ameerulmulk", a name which is not vouchsafed by our authorities.

[8] *Nandyal:* headquarters of a subdivision in the Karnul district, Andhra Pradesh; 15° 30′ N., 78° 29′ E. *Gooty:* headquarters of a subdivision in Anantapur district,

This sweeping success of the royal forces and the submission of practically all the chiefs between the Krishna and Penūkonḍa, encouraged the Sulṭān to strike at the capital itself, and after the reduction of Ganḍīkōṭa, he ordered Amīnu'l-mulk to press forward against the capital. It appears that Venkaṭa did not offer any resistance before the royal army reached the walls of Penūkonḍa. The Rāya, being fully aware that he would not be able to face the army in the open field, had recourse to a ruse. He sent his ministers Goparāj Timma and Pāpaiyah Seṭṭī with an autographed letter and costly presents to the Sulṭān requesting him to agree to an armistice of three days preparatory to a permanent treaty. The Sulṭān accepted the presents and was so much impressed by the apparent sincerity of the envoys that he ordered the royal troops to raise the siege. Taking advantage of this opportunity the Rāya filled the citadel as well as the city with provisions. When the period of the truce ended, instead of offering to sign a permanent treaty he called some of his feudatories such as Achyūta Nāyak of Tanjore, and ordered Jagadēva Rao, Velugoṭī Chinna, Maṭli Ananta, his own son Venkaṭapatī and others to attack the Tilangana army which they did with thirty thousand horse and four thousand musketeers.[9] It was now that the king discovered his mistake in having put faith in Venkaṭa's word; but when he ordered that the fort be besieged again, his own officers told him that as Penūkonḍa was well provided for and it would take months to reduce the city and by that time the Krishna would be in floods and it would be impossible for the army to get back home.[10]

This must have been a terrible blow to the prestige of the Sulṭān. His army had proved its strength on the battlefield and conquered fort after fort; it had maintained its commissariat arrangements against heavy odds; it had coped with the defences of the southern

Andhra Pradesh; 15° 50′ N., 78° 4′ E. *Gandikota:* hill fort, in the Jumalamadugu taluqa, Cuddapah district, Andhra Pradesh; 14° 47′ N., 78° 16′ E. *Musalimadugu:* in Nandikotkur taluqa, Karnul district; 16° 22′ N., 78° 3′ E.

[9] *Q.S.*, p. 259; *N. & V.*, I, 314; *Velug.*, Introduction, p. 52. Raghunatha, chief of Tanjore, in *Raghunathabhudayamu*, *Sources*, p. 285, where Raghunatha is said to have played a prominent part in the campaign.

[10] See *N. & V.*, 314. Strangely, Ferishta does not mention the campaign at all, which is one other proof of his lack of knowledge of the history of Tilang.

kingdom and it was on the point of finally eliminating it. But the Sulṭān had utterly failed as a diplomat and, far from being on the brink of a precipice the enemy was now entrenched not merely in a safe but in an aggressive position. It is difficult to understand the reason which prompted the Sulṭān to withdraw his forces from the capital when all that was asked for was just three days' truce in preparation of a permanent peace treaty. It shows either an utter lack of diplomatic talent on the part of the Sulṭān's advisers or, which is more or less the same thing, the moral tone of the Sulṭān which bordered on an absence of correctly judging his mortal enemy by their own standards. It is also quite possible that some of the leaders of the royal army had been in secret *pourparlers* with the rebel 'Alī Khān Lūr and might have advised the Sulṭān to take the unwise step of withdrawing his forces. Whatever that might be, the army of Tilang-Andhra lost a great opportunity and it had no alternative but to fall back to the banks of the Krishna.[11]

Our Persian authorities do not mention the fighting which must have raged between the two opposing forces before the retreat of the Tilang army. It is related in some of the copper plate grants of the period that the action on the banks of the Pennar was so intense that "the river was crimson with the blood of the soldiers killed" in battle. The fighting might have been protracted, for it is said that the Sulṭān's army was defeated over and over again by the army of Penūkonḍa. Before recrossing the Krishna, the Sulṭān made sure that the defence of the territory lying between the Pennar and the Krishna was made as secure as possible; he therefore gave charge of Musalimadugu to Asva Rāo, of Ganḍīkōṭa to Sanjar Khān, and of Nandyāl to Jagat Rāo. He also appointed Murtaza Khān chief commander of the forces which were left behind. After making these arrangements, the Sulṭān retraced his steps towards Haidarabad.[12]

[11] As is clear from the next paragraph, there was rearguard action and severe fighting before the Sultan's troops retreated; see *N. & V.*, I, 315, where the Sidhout inscription of Matla Ananta and the *Raghunathabhudayamu* have been quoted. See also *Aravidu*, p. 328, where references are made to *M.E.R.*, 916, p. 148, para 178; Vilapaka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270; Vellangudi Plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, etc.

[12] *Q.S.*, 258-59. This is another evidence of the perfect harmony which

The ruse on the part of Venkaṭa as well as the utter credulity of the Sultān's had turned the scales definitely in favour of Penūkoṇḍa, and the Rāya now ordered the invasion of the Tilangana proper. However, when he consulted his generals they advised him that even in defeat the army of Tilang was too strong to be faced in the open field at once, and suggested that a diversion be made against Koṇḍavīḍu. At the same time they advised him to send an army to help Kapiladēva, the ruler of Udayagirī who was evidently laying waste the surrounding country which belonged to the Quṭbshāhī kingdom.[13] On the other hand, the commandant of Koṇḍavīḍu, Afzal Khān, got into agreement with the loyal chiefs of the neighbourhood to lay waste the territory lying immediately round the fort of Udayagirī. There must have been some fighting between the opposing forces, but we are not aware of the details. Probably there was no pitched battle but just protracted guerilla warfare, as the result of which Koṇḍavīdu was saved for the Sulṭān.[14]

But Venkaṭa would not let Muḥammad-Qulī rest in peace. The Krishna was in spate and it was impossible for the Tilang army to be sent to the help of those who were virtually besieged at Koṇḍavīḍu and elsewhere. Venkaṭa now sent a large army,

prevailed between the various sections of the population of Tilang-Andhra. That the Sultan should have entrusted the charge of some of the most important frontier posts to Asva Rao and Jagat Rao shows his great confidence in these two non-Muslim officers.

[13] *N. & V.*, 253 and *Velug.*, Intr., 54 have another story. They rely on the *Kaifiyat* of Cittivelli, which says that a section of the Sultan's army, aided by Uriya and Manne chiefs reached Kamalakuru in the Siddhavatam taluqa of the Cuddapah district and another section reached Gurramkonda in the Vayalpadu taluqa of the Chittur district. The army sent by Venkata II routed the Sultan's army at Kamalakuru and chased it as far as Koccerlakota and later drove the Tilangana army from Gurramkonda as well. The *Kaifiyat* is reproduced verbatim in *N. & V.*, III, document 216, p. 271 and translated in II, p. 271. *N. & V.*, I, 316 also refer to documents 202 which is reproduced on III, p. 260 which is taken bodily from *Velug.*, pp. 93-96. At the end of this document it is expressly stated that "this battle of (Koccerlakota) was fought in S.S. 1501 (1579 A.C.), i.e. 33 years before the Penukonda campaign, and can have nothing to do with it.

[14] Thus in *Q.S.*, 253; *N. & V.*, I, 316, have Kowladanda as the name of the chief.

Udayagiri: headquarters of a taluqa in the Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh; 14° 53′ N., 79° 18′ E.

consisting of a lakh of troops under Timayyā, Gulranga Seṭṭi, Manuparāj and Velugoṭi Chennappa, to Ganḍikōṭa. The fort which was under the command of *sarnaubat* Sanjar Khān was closely invested. On the other side, Murtazā Khān swung round and made a sudden attack on Cuddapah. This completely upset Venkaṭa's plans and he ordered Timmarāj and Manuparāj to proceed against Murtazā Khān, but they were defeated and put to flight. The Sulṭān now sent *sarnaubat* Ghaznafar Khān, alias Rustam Khān, with five thousand horse to help Murtazā Khān. A rift soon appeared in the counsels of the Sulṭān's army, for Rustam Khān began to insist that he was the Commander-in-Chief and his orders must be followed. The result was that Rustam Khān precipitately crossed the river; this was followed by the complete rout of his army and the capture of Ganḍīkōṭa by Velugōṭa Chennappa. The net result of this was the shifting of the frontier of Tilang-Andhra back to the Krishna, and the sole outpost now left to the Sulṭān on the other side of the river was that of Konḍavīḍu. When Muḥammad-Qulī heard of the débacle he forthwith dismissed Rustam Khān and expelled him from the kingdom.[15]

Disorders in the East

The confidence which the Sulṭān had reposed in some of the Commanders who had been sent to frontier posts on the south-eastern border of the State did not bear fruit. Some time about 1589-90 Khān-i Khānān, Bhālē Rao and 'Ālam entered into a conspiracy, unfurled the banner of rebellion, and even sent word to Venkaṭapatī of Penūkonḍa to help them against the Sulṭān. The Rāya sent a strong force of ten thousand horse, and joining hands with the traitors they began to lay waste the country round Konḍavīdu. When the Sulṭān heard of these developments he appointed Amīnu'l-mulk pēshwa of the kingdom and sent him to the eastern border to chastise the rebels. As Kowlananda, as the chief of Udayagirī was actually siding with the rebels he was caught and beheaded. This seems to have greatly frightened the rebels who now retreated to the fortress of Ardingī without offering battle. Amīnu'l-mulk now pursued the rebels and put to sword all who barred his way. After the campaign was over and the rebels subdued, Amīnu'l-mulk

[15] The campaign is vividly described in *Q.S.*, 258-62.

repaired to the capital and was received by the Sulṭān with much honour.[16]

This rebellion was followed by further turmoil, and this time on the north-eastern frontier of the kingdom. It has been pointed out elsewhere that the part of southern Orissa with its centre at Qāsimkōṭa was ruled by chiefs of the Bahubulendra family, and this was constituted as a Quṭbshāhi protectorate in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī's father, Ibrāhīm, when Gajapatī Rāja of Ganjām was ousted by the Golkonda forces. The name of the feudatory Rāja of Qāsimkōṭa appears to be Narasimha *alias* Singabhūpāla, and when he died in 1590, he was succeeded by his twelve year-old son, Mukandrāj Bahūbulendra as a feudatory of Haidarabad.[17] He received the robe of honour at the hands of the Sulṭān himself who issued a proclamation to all the chiefs and officers of the Qasimkōṭā locality to do honour to their new chief. But when Mukandrāj returned home from Haidarabad he raised the standard of rebellion against the paramount power, and after putting to death all those who were loyal to the Quṭbshāhī throne, seized the royal treasury there.[18] The Sulṭan now appointed Khān-i Zamān Mīr Zainu'l-'Ābidīn as *sar-lashkar* and sent him with a large army to Qāsimkōṭa to quell the rebellion. The King wanted to lead the defence force himself but he was dissuaded by his courtiers

[16] *Q.S.*, 264-66; *Aravidu*, 331-32, where reference is made to the inscription on the eastern side of the Ammavaru temple at Aminabad (*Sources*, 239-40). In this inscription Aminu'l-mulk is said to have cleared the country of rebels, much in the same way as darkness is cleared before the rising sun. The date of the inscription is April 4, 1592, and the year of the rebellion is indicated as 1589-90.

[17] See Sherwani, *Tilangana under Ibrahim Qutb Shah*, *J. I. H.*, April 1958, p. 84. The name of the father, *S. I. I.*, X, No. 750, mentioned by Rama Rao, *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah's Campaign against Kalinga*, Potdar Commemoration Volume, 1950, p. 117. Of course, Dr. Rama Rao is wrong when he says that it is Ferishta who mentions this campaign; it is really *Tarikh Muhammad Qutb Shah*, which gives a fairly elaborate account of the campaign, and it is the epitomised translation of this work which has been appended to the translation of Ferishta by Col. Briggs.

[18] *Aravidu*, 269, says that Mukand imprisoned the Sultan's deputy, Barlas Khan, but I do not find this in *Q. S.*, 269, where Barlas is said to have brought the serious state of affairs to the notice of the Sultan. Barlas Khan was later put to death by Mukand when he returned to Rajahmundri frustrated at his defeat.

who represented to him that the campaign was, after all, not of such great importance that the King should assume the command himself. He also ordered that Amīnu'l-mulk and Shankarrāj, who was a near relation of Mukandrāj but was of proved loyalty to the throne,[19] should accompany the royal troops. Mukand now sent urgent messages to Venkaṭa of Penūkonḍa to hurry to his help and to attack Konḍāvīḍu to divert attention, while he himself advanced into Quṭbshāhī territory towards Rājahmundrī. Before engaging Mukund in battle Amīnu'l-mulk sent a message to the rebel to desist from fighting, but it was of no avail. He engaged the royal forces with thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry at Rājahmundrī where he was defeated. He fled to Qāsimkōṭa where he put to death Barlās Khān, the Qutbshāhī Resident, and other high officials. He was pursued by Amīnu'l-mulk as far as Piṭhāpuram and then into the thick jungle which surrounded the place. Knowing fully well that he would not be able to withstand the royal army, he wrote for help to Rāmchandra, one of the powerful chiefs of the locality, as well as to Mādhava Singh who was Akbar's Rajput governor of northern Orissa.[20] Mādhava Singh did proceed southwards with a large army but thought fit to retire on Amīnu'l-mulk's approach, while Rāmchandra laid down his arms. Amīnu'l-mulk left Asva Rāo and Malik Nā'ib in charge of the pacified territory and himself returned to Qāsimkōṭa.[21]

[19] In the genealogy given by Dr. Rama Rao on p. 118 of the Potdar Volume, *op. cit.*, he shows Shankar to be Mukand's cousin. But *Q.S.*, 269, calls him his brother-in-law, which is not inconsistent with Dr. Rama Rao's genealogy. But Father Heras says in *Aravidu*, 333, that he was "Bhaibulandar's" nephew. This is not correct unless by "Bhaibulandar" he means Shankarraj's father whose nephew he was. Although *Q. S.*, does not give the date of the campaign it says that it took place when Murad was besieging Ahmadnagar, i.e. in 1004/1595.

[20] Raja Mansingh invaded Orissa on behalf of the Emperor Akbar in 1590 and completed the conquest of the northern part of the country up to the river Mahanadi, in 1592.

[21] Very curiously, the late Father Heras disbelieved the testimony of *Q.S.*, as translated by *Briggs*, III, 465, that Mukandraj was pursued by Aminu'l-mulk, and says in the note on p. 333 of *Aravidu* that "Muhammadan writers ... proclaim an imaginary great victory obtained ... over the Hindus". He further argues that "if the young Raja did not succeed in seizing Barlas Khan ... when there was not in the country such a formidable army of Golkonda it is impossible

It was probably the softness in the Sulṭān's character which was responsible for the trouble even at home. We are aware that the name of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's eldest son was 'Abdu'l Qādir. He was married with great pomp to a girl of the family of Shāh Khalīlu'lāh, son of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī. It was probably this union which earned him the nickname of Shāh Sāhib, a title which is usually given to persons who are closely related to the *mashā'ikh* or hereditary guardians of some shrine. It appears that it was not all well with the young prince, for he was confined at the fort of Dēwarkonḍa even in the time of his father soon after his marriage. When he was afflicted by the illness which cost him his life, his brother, Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī, sent his own royal physician to treat him, but it was of no avail and the prince did not survive his illness. His mortal remains were buried in the royal necropolis near Golkonda.

It was about 990/1592 that a person who was born about the same time as the prince claimed that he was the real Shāh Ṣāhib who had escaped from the prison and had not met his death at all. As it was at Bīdar that the claim was made Muḥammad-Qulī wrote to 'Alī Barīd II of Bīdar that the pseudo-Shāh Ṣāhib was an impostor and should be arrested and confined to prison. But the descendants of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh, who exercised a considerable amount of influence at the Barīdi court and who, no doubt, wanted to make capital out of their relationship with the real prince, somehow secured his release. He immediately hurried southwards, got the support of some of the discontented amīrs and grandees of the kingdom and proclaimed himself King of Tilangana, on the banks of the Krishna.

Muḥammad-Qulī now appointed I'tibār Khān who then commanded the garrison of Konḍavīḍu, to proceed to Pāngal and

that he could put him to death on this occasion in the face of so large an army commanded by the Amir Jumla". As a matter of fact the argument is purely conjectural and there is no evidence that Mukandraj ever fought a winning battle against Aminu'l-mulk. When he sought the help of the Raya of Penukonda and others he himself advanced to meet Aminu'l-mulk and possibly kept Barlas in confinement at his capital. But he had to retreat precipitately, and frustrated as he was, put him as well as other potential enemies to death. In all probability he had already planned to quit and so he did not expect any dire consequences of this deed at the hands of Aminu'l-mulk.

check the impostor from marching into Tilangana. By that time, the pseudo-Shāh Ṣāhib had gathered a considerable force under his banner. But I'tibār Khān was able to give him a signal defeat and he had to flee to Bijapur and seek the protection of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II. We hear nothing more of Shāh Ṣahib.[22]

Shāh Ṣāhib's rebellion was only an interlude in the series of rebellions on the north-eastern frontier of the kingdom. The apparent defeat of Mukandrāj did not mean the pacification of the district. With the Quṭbshāhi army centred at Qāsimkōṭa the chiefs of the Rājahmundrī locality thought that it was a good

[22] For "Shah Sahib's" rebellion see *Q.S.*, 266-67. *Briggs*, III, 461, note, has suggested that the name of the prince was 'Abdu'l-Qadir because he was educated by the saint who lies buried under a large dome at Patancheru. The domed structure near Patancheru, in fact, contains the mortal remains of the Qutbshahi nobleman, Amin Khan whose natal name was 'Abdul-Qadir; see Bashiru'd-din, *Waqi'at Mamlukat Bijapur*, II, 544; and Sherwani, 'Cultural and Administrative set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah', *I. C.*, April, 1957, p. 6. Briggs' conjecture that the prince was educated by a 'holy man' who is interred at Patancheru is wrong.

Dr. Zor, in his *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah* has certain conjectures with regard to Shah Sahib which are not substantiated by facts. On p. 268 he gives the date of the rebellion to be 1004 H, which does not seem to be correct. It is definitely stated in *Q. S.*, 267 that Shah Sahib was married during the life-time of his father, and died three years after his marriage, during the reign of his brother. Ibrahim died in 968, so it must have been about 970 that 'Abdu'l-Qadir died. Twenty years after 970 would make 990/1596. The learned doctor also throws out a suggestion on p. 273 that the pretender was the real Shah Sahib; for, had he not been so, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, who was the husband of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah's sister, would have put him to death as a traitor to his brother-in-law. We are aware that, in spite of the fact that practically all the Sultans of the Deccan were closely related at one time or other, this relationship did not come in the way of their political ambitions and their expansionist tendencies at the expense of their neighbours. *Q. S.* is categorical that Shah Sahib died twenty years before the rebellion, and unless there is some evidence equally categorical it is impossible to contradict the chronicle with any cogency. See also chapter 1, n. 3, above.

For the early life of 'Abdu'l-Qadir see *Briggs*, III, 447. For Shah Ni'matu'l-lah Kirmani and his descendants who came and settled at Bidar during the reign of Shihabu'din Ahmad I, see *Bahmanis*, pp. 192 ff.

'Ali Barid Shah II, king of Bidar, 1589-1610. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, King of Bijapur, 1580-1620.

Pangal: a hill-fort in Nagar-Karnul taluqa, Mahbubnagar district, A. P.; 16° 15′ N., 78° 8′ E.

opportunity to join forces and rise against the royal authority. The first to revolt were the chiefs of Ellūrū, Nirdal and Bahārjallī. The Sultān thereupon appointed 'Ādil Khān Bangī, who was then commanding the royal forces at Koṇḍāvīḍu, and the sarnaubat Changīz Khān to proceed against the rebels. A river, which had to be crossed, was in spate, and it was very difficult for the army to go over to the other side, especially as the rebels had encamped in full force on the northern bank. On hearing of the predicament the king sent another army, fully equipped with fire-arms, under the ḥawāladār 'Abdu'l-Karīm. It was after days of effort that a way was found to cross the river mainly through the help of two Hindu officers Sābājī and Dharma Rao. The enemy had erected a strong bastion between two large hills on the other side of the river, and when they had to retreat through the pressure of the Haidarabad army they retired behind this. But the prop proved to be too weak, and when the bastion was attacked in full force they had no alternative but to sue for peace.[23]

It seems that the chief commander of the royal forces, Amīnu'l-mulk, was a man of stern temperament. He was primarily a soldier, and as such, was not prone to the habit of bending before his subordinates or opponents. It appears that at least some of the revolts against the Throne were caused by his strait-jacketness and his undiplomatic behaviour. When Mukandrāj rose in rebellion, his brother Harīchand and his nephew Shankarrāj were at the Sulṭān's Court and they joined Amīnu'l-mulk against Mukandrāj. In the fight which ensued, Shankarrāj was killed fighting for the Sulṭān. There was another Hindu officer, Rāwat Rāo, who was in command of a possé of the Sultān's troops and who had fought under Amīnu'l-mulk a number of times. But Amīnu'l-mulk offended him by his haughty behaviour.[24] He surreptitiously left his army camp and sent word to Harīchand to join hands with him and drive out the Haidarabad army. The two managed

[23] *Elluru*: headquarters of a sub-division of Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh; 16° 43'N., 81° 07'E. *Briggs*, III, 472, calls this Ellora and says that, like the well-known caves in the Aurangabad district, now in Maharashtra State, this Elluru, "which is near Chikakole" has also a number of caves.

The river mentioned in the text must have been one of the many streams which fall into the Godavari in this locality.

[24] *Q. S.*, 277.

to collect a formidable force of nearly ten thousand foot soldiers. But Rāwat Rāo was killed in the first skirmish by an arrow shot at his chest and the opposition was thereby slackened to a certain extent. Harīchand, however, continued the fight, sought the help of another local chief Vaijnāth Deo, and persuaded Mukandrāj to invest the royal outpost at Jurjura. Mukandrāj was on the point of capturing the place by escalade and assault when Changīz Khān arrived with a large reinforcement and turned the scales against the besiegers. But the enemy would not rest. Both Vaijnāth Deo and Harīchand marched against the main Quṭbshāhi army under Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, but they were driven back. Vaijnāth now fled to the fort of Veraghaṭṭam while the Quṭbshāhi army betook itself to Nārāyanpūr.[25]

But when Mukandrāj, who was besieging the fort of Muḥammad-Qulī-Quṭbshāhābad, heard of the successive defeats of the allies at the hands of the Sulṭān's forces, he fled to his own capital at Jilmūr "which was situated in the midst of jungle and mountains". When this news was brought to the royal army, Changīz Khān, 'Abdu'l Karīm Khān, Dharma Rāo and Bhālē Rao proceeded to Jilmūr and engaged the enemy. The fighting, which must have been of a guerilla type, went on for a couple of months. Mukand sent urgent messages to Vaijnāth to come to his help; otherwise, he pointed out, all would be lost. Vaijnāth sent a strong army consisting of two thousand horse, thirty thousand foot soldiers and a hundred elephants under the command of his nephew. But it was very difficult to pass through thick jungle and mountainous paths with such a large army. It seems that, although the royal army got the upper hand in certain preliminary engagements, they were followed by protracted guerilla fighting which went on for many weeks. "The whole country was now surrounded", and although the rebels "fought with the greatest bravery" they were at last defeated. Harīchand saw no purpose in opposing the royal forces any more and sent a message to Dharma Rāo of the royal

[25] *Q.S.*, 278, has Vasnadeo, while *Briggs*, III, 470 has Veij Nat Dew. It may be pointed out that Vaijnath or Baijnath are fairly common Hindu names in northern and central India, and this must have been the real name of the chief.

Viraghattam: in the Palkonda taluqa, Visakhapatnam district, A. P., 18° 8′N., 82° 18′ E.

army with proposals for peace. The army must also have been tired of the long fighting in a difficult terrain, so that a proposal like this was not at all unwelcome to the commanders. It was agreed that Harīchand should be allowed to keep his patrimony as the vassal of the King and should send a tribute of thirty thousand hons and fifty elephants every year to Haidarabad.[26]

In spite of this, fighting continued, as Mukandrāj Bahūbulendra was adamant and did not wish to lay down his arms. He was firmly seated both at Jilmūr and Elūrū and felt his position more secure than Harīchand. Zainu'l-'Ābidīn now detailed Changīz Khān to go and unseat him from his lair. When the two armies met in battle, both were equally balanced in the beginning and fighting went on for two days, at the end of which the Quṭbshāhī army was victorious and Mukand had to flee to Bengal. But even that was not the end of the struggle. For Krishna Rāo, son of Rāwat Rāo, rose in rebellion and seizing Madwārā and Poṭnūr, and wrote to Mukand to return and reclaim his patrimony. It redounds to the continued toleration of the Sulṭān that among the officers who were sent to oppose the pretentions of these rebels, we find the names of two Hindus, namely Dharma Rao and Asva Rao (Asīr Rao). The royal troops forced Mukand, who had returned and was commanding his troops, to shut himself up at Maḍwārā, but as the fort was surrounded by a thick jungle and it was difficult to make much headway, Dharma Rao suggested to the Chief Commander Zainu'l-'Ābidīn that Mukand might be allowed to retain his patrimony as the vassal of the Sulṭān, much in same way as Harīchand had been allowed before. But this move on the part of Mukandrāj was probably part of a ruse, for when Muḥammad-Qulī sent another commander, Ḥasan Khān to take charge of the operations, the first thing which the new commander did was to construct two new forts Mustafānagar and Muḥammadābād, as a line of defence.

The suspicion on the part of the new Quṭbshāhī commander proved to be correct; Mukand soon assumed the offensive. He first of all sent Krishna Rāo against Muḥammadābād, but he was killed in the fighting. Another attack was made against Mustafānagar but that was also unsuccessful. These successes

[26] *Q.S.*, 280-81. The name of Rawat Rao's son is 'Kishtam Rao' in *Q.S.*, and this may have been a corruption of Krishna Rao.

made Ḥasan Khān bold enough to attack Maḍwārā and he forced Mukandrāj to flee again to Bengal never to return. This time also the Sulṭān put his complete faith in a Hindu, Sūrya Rao, made him his chief accredited representative to the province of Qāsimkōṭa and commissioned him to partition up the newly acquired gains among the jāgīrdārs of the Kingdom.[27]

Muḥammad-Qulī's Last Days

It was after this campaign that the king sought the advice of "the nobles and high officers of government" as to whom he should appoint Mīr Jumla. After seeking their advice he appointed Muḥammad Amīn "who was the most eminent in the integrity of his opinions among his peers". It is related that under the new minister the affairs of state "which had wavered like an aigrette affixed to the head of a beautiful maiden" became fixed and firm. He proved to be an asset to the kingdom as the counterpart of the ease-loving and none-too-circumspect Sultān.

The year 1012/1603 is also important in the history of the foreign relations of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty, for in that year Shāh 'Abbās the Great, the Safawī king of Persia, sent Prince Aghuzlū Sulṭān as his envoy to Haidarabad.[28] When news arrived that he would disembark at the Portuguese port of Goa, the Sultān sent Mīr Ziyāu'd-dīn Muḥammad Nīshāpurī to receive him there with all the honour due to the envoy of a great ally. The Prince was escorted from the border of the kingdom to the capital by a number

[27] *Q.S.*, 285.

[28] 'Abbas I, surnamed the Great, the most powerful king of the Safawi dynasty of Iran, 1586-1628. He was a great protagonist of Shi'ism, and he waged frequent wars with the Turks, with the result that he had to make friends with European powers who were the sworn enemies of the Turkish Sultans. He conquered Tabriz, Erivan, Georgia, Kurdistan and Mousil, ousted the Turks from Diarbekir and Baghdad and occupied the towns sacred to the Shi'ah namely Najaf, Kazimain and Samarrah. In the east, he was able to occupy Qandhar which had been in the Emperor Jahangir's possession. He made Isfahan his capital and from there he governed the country with a strong hand. He had close relations with the English East India Company, and opened the port of Gambroon, thenceforward called Bandar-i 'Abbas, to European traders. He was a great disciplinarian and had no scruples to behead able-bodied prisoners whom he captured in his numerous wars.

of nobles deputed by the Sulṭān. On arrival at the capital, he was received in audience by the king, to whom he delivered an autographed letter from his master the Shāh along with most valuable presents including a royal crown studded with rubies. It appears that the envoy was accompanied by no less than a hundred high ranking officials to each of whom His Majesty presented royal robes of great value.[29]

It is related that the main object of the mission was the message sent by Shāh 'Abbās to Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh for the marriage of "one of his sons" with the Sulṭān's daughter Hayāt Bakhshī Bēgum. The envoy was at the capital for six long years and was allowed to leave for Iran only in 1018/1609. The Sulṭān ordered Mahdī-Qulī Sulṭān (whose name shows that he himself was a scion of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty) to accompany the Iranian envoy with rich presents for the Shāh. But in spite of Aghuzlū Sultān's long stay at the Quṭbshāhī capital, he was not successful in his mission, for in 1016/1607, while he was still there, the princess was married to her cousin Sulṭān Muḥammad who eventually succeeded Muḥammad-Qulī as Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.[30]

As has already been mentioned, one of the great figures of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was the Pēshwa of the kingdom, Mīr Mu'min Astrābādi, who has left a lasting mark on the culture of Haidarabad. He seems to have arrived at Golkonda, which was then the capital of Tilang, from Iran soon after the accession of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh to the throne, and was

[29] *Q.S.*, 386.

[30] *Muhammad Qutb Shah*, 1611-26.

It shows the superficiality of Ferishta's narrative regarding the Qutb-shahi dynasty when he says at the end of his 'History of Tilang', *Fer.*, II, 174, that the princess was betrothed to the Iranian prince and was soon to be sent to Iran as his bride. This is, of course, all a produce of the fertile imagination of the chronicler. Hayat Bakhshi Begum virtually ruled the kingdom during the reign of her husband, Muhammad Qutb Shah, and even after his death continued to take an active part in the affairs of the kingdom off and on. She died at Haidarabad on 18-8-1077/14-2-1667 at the advanced age of 75, five years before the death of her son Sultan 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah, and was buried in the magnificent tomb within the Qutbshahi necropolis. Here it might be mentioned that the story of her supposed marriage with the Iranian prince alluded to by Ferishta has not been translated by *Briggs*, III, 35.

Mahdi-Quli Sultan is called a 'Turkman' in *Fer.*, II, 32.

probably appointed Pēshwa of the Kingdom as early as 993/1585.[31] He was a great architect, a lover of culture and a poet and critic of some eminence. He died sometime in 1034 or 1035/1624-26. There is a controversy regarding the date of his birth and the fact that there is no epitaph on the grave reputed to be his (or for that matter on any of the sixteen graves within the mortuary chamber) is by no means conducive to the clarification of the chief minister of the state right up to his death.

The perennial rift between the two sections of the Muslim nobility of the state, the dakhnīs and the āfāqīs, raised its head again towards the end of Muḥammad-Qulī's reign. And this was aggravated by the presence of the Mughals at the gate of the kingdom. It appears that some Mughals from Agra and Lahore went up the Nabāt Ghāṭ overlooking the Husain Sāgar lake and forced their way into the royal pavilion which stood on the top of the hill. This impudence on their part was immediately reported to the king and he ordered the kōtwāl, 'Alī Āqā, to turn the trespassers out of the grounds and warn them that they should not do so again in any circumstances. 'Alī Āqā informed the Sulṭān that the

[31] Mir Muhammad Mu'min's biography has been compiled by Dr. Zor (in Urdu) in an exhaustive manner, and there the learned author has discussed the problems relating to the early life of the wazir. We are not aware of the exact date on which he was born, but it is surmised that the date of his birth was sometime about 960/1553 at Astrabad in Iran. He was a precocious youth and was already known for his erudition even in his teens. He was a devout Shi'ah, and it was probably the fame of Shi'ism as the state religion of Tilang which brought him to Golkonda; *Hada'iqu's-Salatin*, 187; *Tarikh 'Alam Ara-i 'Abbasi*, 159. There is a controversy whether he reached the capital of Tilang during the reign of Ibrahim or after the accession of Muhammad-Quli, and this matter has been discussed fully by Dr. Zor, who comes to the conclusion that the Mir reached Golkonda immediately after Muhammad-Quli's accession; *Hayat*, p. 25. It may be remarked that here again Ferishta shows his ignorance of the history of the Qutbshahi dynasty and puts forward the date of the accession of Muhammad-Quli to 989/1581 as against the exact date, 21-4-988/5-6-1580 as mentioned by the *Q.-S.* It was without doubt the Mir who put into practical form the whole conception of the new capital, Haidarabad, and it was his devoutness as a Shi'ah Muslim which led to the construction of the Badshahi 'Ashurkhana immediately after the completion of the pivotal structure of the new city, the Char Minar. For the 'Ashurkhana see chapter 2, above; for the da'ira or necropolis which he planned and where he himself was buried later, see chapter 3, above.

trespassers were really a part of the Mughal population, which had surreptitiously infiltrated into Haidarabad and were a dangerous element of the population of the capital. The response of the Sulṭān was immediate, and he ordered that not merely the Mughals but also the Paṭhāns and the Arabs who were not in government service should be expelled. The Kōtwāl, who evidently did not belong to any of these categories, roped them all in, and it was bruited that they were to be put to death. This led to disorder in the city and warehouses and property of the Mughals who had settled down there were looted. The Mīr Jumlā happened to be transacting some business in one of the offices attached to the royal palace when he heard of the disorder. He immediately went to the king's bedroom where the Sulṭān was fast asleep and informed him how serious the situation had become. The Sulṭān now ordered to make short work of the rioters. 'Alī Āqā, who had acted in such a precipitate manner against the innocent as well as the guilty, now laid a heavy hand on the perpetrators of the riots, and it was not till law and order had been reinstated that the king had any peace of mind.[32]

This led to another disquieting episode. Muḥammad-Qulī had a full brother named Muḥammad Khudābandah who, it is said, was well treated by him, and he on his part, reciprocated by being loyal to the king. He was a fairly docile person and was not prone to revolt. But it appears that the dakhnī party, led by one Shāh Rājū, engineered a conspiracy with the object of eliminating the Shī'ah element of the city who were mainly of Persian extraction and had the strong support of the Palace, and to put Khudābandah on the throne. The Sulṭān, however, got the information in the nick of time and imprisoned the conspirators including Khudābandah in the fort of Golkonda, where the prince died sometime later, in 1020/1611.[33]

As has already been noticed, the Mughals were fast advancing into the Deccan, and had it not been for the strategy and fortitude of Malik 'Ambar, they would have made short work of the remaining kingdoms of the Deccan. The arrival of prince Parvīz in the vicinity of Ahmadnagar in 1018/1609 was a signal for the rebellious elements of the Quṭbshāhī dominions as well. Vaijnāth Deo, who had been signally defeated by the royal troops, rose again

[32] *Q.S.*, 292-95. [33] *Ibid.*, 295.

and surrounded the Quṭbshāhī army under the sar-lashkar, Ḥasan Khān, at Qāsimkōṭa. The Sulṭān again put his confidence in Changīz Khān and Dharma Rao and sent them with a large army to go and fight the rebels. Vaijnāth Deo shut himself up in his fortress. He had grown old and could not keep his subordinates in the discipline that was demanded of them, while his own nephew Krishnarāj actually went over to the royal camp and was well received by Changīz Khān. In the meantime, the gallant Vaijnāth Deo died of old age. Dharma Rao felt that the situation was now well in hand, and he wrote to those who were in power after Vaijnāth to lay down their arms threatening that otherwise Changīz would occupy the whole area by force and thousands of innocent lives would be lost. Vaijnāth had left no son, and his nephew who was regarded as heir to the *gaddī* was already a royal protégé. A treaty was now entered into between the commander of the royal army and Krishnarāj that the latter would succeed Vaijnāth Deo and pay the Sulṭān an annual tribute as well as a *pēshkash* of three lakhs of hons and three hundred elephants when he allowed him to take charge of the state. The Sulṭān presented him with a full robe of honour and costly accessories, including silver *accoutrements* for his steed.

But Krishnarāj did not keep peace for long, and not only did he fail to pay the full quota of his tribute, but actually rose in rebellion against the paramount power. It was, however, not long before Changīz overpowered the rebellion; but Krishnarāj managed to keep his patrimony under his immediate control and finally paid homage to the Sulṭān.[34]

The success of the royal troops was not so pronounced in another field. In 1019/1610 the ruler of Bastar named Pratāp Shāh revolted against the central authority. It shows the spirit underlying the Quṭbshāhī State that the task of facing Pratāp was entrusted to Asva Rao who was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces with Syed Ḥaidar, Amjadu'l-mulk and other officers under him. In the battle which ensued, Asva Rao opposed Pratāp Shāh in person and forced him to flee from the battle-field and take refuge in the fort of Jagdalpur. Asva Rao now wrote to the Sulṭān for further help as it was necessary to dislodge Pratāp from his eerie. Muḥammad-Qulī now ordered Mīr Jumlā to go to Bastar with a

[34] *Ibid.*, 295-98.

large army. But in spite of his march to Bastar, which was wholly unopposed, he could not dislodge Pratāp from the fortress as sudden and unexpected rain damped both his gunpowder and his spirits and he could not get further help from the centre in time. He was therefore forced to retreat, and as the Godavari was in spate it was with some difficulty that he could reach the capital.

It was not long after this, on 17-11-1020/10-12-1611 that the Sultān breathed his last, after his illness of only a couple of days, at the age of a little over forty-seven lunar years, and a reign of thirty-three lunar years. As he had no son, he was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Sulṭān Muḥammad.[35]

[35] *Ibid.*, 300-02. Jagdalpur is not mentioned in *Q.S.*, but as there is no city of the name of Bastar, which was the name of a state, I have purposely used that name. *Jagdalpur*, on river Indravati, Bastar district, Madhya Pradesh: 19° 5′ N., 82° 4′ E.

Chapter 9

RETROSPECT

THERE ARE some definite traits which are noticeable in Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's personality. He lived a life of ease and luxury, and as his poems clearly demonstrate, it was by no means one of continence. It is probable, as one of his modern panegyrist says, that "his untimely death is generally attributed to life of ease and sensuality".[1] It is to his credit that he left the administrative problems of his kingdom in the hands of capable ministers like Rāi Rao, Mīr Mu'min Astrābādī, Mirza Muḥammad Amīn, Asva Rao and others, with the result that in spite of his inherent weaknesses the Kingdom went on progressing both internally and externally. Unlike Charles II of England (with whom he had much in common so far as personal character is concerned) he rarely took an active part in politics. He was an artist by nature. Although the details of the layout of the new capital must have been worked out by Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min, there is no doubt that the full credit for the plan must be given to the young king. It must have been his idea that advantage was taken of the construction of the Purānā Pul by his father and an outlet from the congested atmosphere of Golkonda was found in the level ground on the banks of the Mūsī on the direct road from Golkonda to the most important seaport on the Golkonda Coast, Masulipatam.[2] Like any other artist he was a patron of literature, both prose and poetry, of music and dance as well as architecture, and had the distinction of being the author of the first *dīwān* in dakhnī.

Ferishta has rightly prefaced his short description of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh by calling him "forgiving and gentle", and if we scan his reign we would find that these traits cost his kingdom a great deal. A classical example of the failure of the king as a leader of men will be found in the episode of the

[1] A. M. Siddiqui, *History of Golcunda*, p. 93.

[2] For the importance of Masulipatam or Macchlibandar, see Shah Manzoor Alam, 'Masulipatam, a metropolitan port in the Seventeenth Century,' *I.C.*, July 1959, pp. 169 ff. *Masulipatam:* headquarter of a taluqa of that name in the Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh; 16° 9′ N., 81° 12′ E.

rebellion of 'Alī Khān Lūr and his alliance with Venkaṭa II of Penūkonḍa in 1593. As has been related, the Sulṭān's forces marched into the Rāya's territory and had almost a walk-over right up to the gates of the capital. Penūkonḍa was invested and it seemed that it would fall like a ripe apple. But Venkaṭa's superior diplomacy coupled with the forgiving nature of the Sulṭān, who was commanding the troops in person, resulted in the humiliating retreat of the Tilang army. The request of the Rāya for a three days' armistice to open *pourparlers* for a final treaty, his reorganization of the army during the precious interval, the immediate retreat of the Sulṭān's forces and the invasion of his dominions in turn, have been described above. Muḥammad-Qulī was less than thirty years old then, and a little firmness on his part and the alertness of his officers might have changed the history of South India at least for the time being.

Again, in continuation of the same campaign, when Ganḍikōṭa was in turn invested by Venkaṭa, Murtazā Khān, the commander of the Sulṭān's forces, made a flanking attack on Cuddapah. The Sulṭān, who had now returned to Haidarabad, thought that the army on the east was not particularly strong, so he sent another large army under the command of Ghazanfar Khān, alias Rustam Khān, for Murtazā Khān's help. But it is strange that he should have forgotten to indicate which of the two commanders would be the commander-in-chief of the joint army. The result was that there was a tussle between the two officers and the consequent rout of the Sulṭān's forces.

All this shows the lack of the quality of leadership in the Sulṭān. Pleasure-loving as he was, he was successful in all those undertakings which were initiated and followed up by his capable ministers; but whenever he had an opportunity of taking a personal decision the possibility was that his 'gentleness', which bordered on vacillation and weakness, would turn the scales against him and the State.

There was one silver lining which was characteristic of the epoch, and that was a spirit of *camaraderie* which existed between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the population. A remarkable thing was that this was so in spite of the perennial conflict between Tilang-Andhra on the one hand and Orissa and Vijayanagar on the other. The fact that 'Alī Khān Lūr sought the help of the "Hindu"

kingdom of the south against the Sulṭān is an instance of the utterly non-communalistic mentality of the period. But that provides only a negative instance. On the positive side, the whole policy of Government seems to have been based on equality of opportunity for both the Hindus and the Muslims for practically all the high offices of the State. Rāi Rao, who was probably mainly responsible for the enthronement of Muḥammad-Qulī was in command of the important fort of Konḍavīḍu when 'Alī Khān rose in rebellion. When the royal army was forced to retreat from Penūkonḍa it was Asva Rao who was left in control of the fort of Musalamiḍugu which had lately been occupied by the Sulṭān's army. The great confidence which the Court reposed in the high Hindu officers of the Kingdom is again shown by the appointment of Dharma Rao along with Changīz Khān against Vaijanāth Deo. Further the King went out of his way when he invested Vaijanāth's nephew, Krishna Rāj with robes of honour and issued a proclamation to the chieftains of the locality to accept him as their paramount chief. Lastly, when Pratāp Shāh of Bastar state revolted against the authority of the Sulṭān it was the king's confident commander, Asva Rao who was sent to quell the rebellion.

Another aspect of the policy of the administration was directly connected with the incursion of the Mughals into the Deccan. Muḥammad-Qulī's advisers fully realised the danger which threatened the remaining three states of the Deccan by the continued incursion of the Mughals into Berar and Aḥmadnagar. It is well-known that (except for the interlude of 1565) there had been continued friction between Aḥmadnagar, Bijapur and Tilang in the past, but now all the three states stood like one in the face of the invaders and forgot their quarrels. Bijapur and Haidarabad both realised that the fall of Aḥmadnagar would spell their own doom, and when Chānd Bībī, and later, Malik 'Ambar, appealed to Muḥammad-Qulī to consider the cause of Aḥmadnagar to be his own, he fully responded to the appeal. On the other hand, the marriage of the king's sister Chānd Sultānā to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh must have led the rulers of the two Kingdoms to bury their hatchets in face of the grave danger from the north. The contempt with which the emissaries of Delhi viewed the Shī'ah potentates of the Deccan, especially Muḥammad-Qulī, may be instanced in what a man of such catholic temperament as Faizī writes about him in

one of the reports he sent to the Emperor Akbar from Aḥmadnagar. It must have been a reaction to such a treatment as well as the enormity of the situation which resulted in the immediate response of the Haidarabad Court to the appeals from Aḥmadnagar.

It was only natural that the aesthetic aspect of the Sulṭān's entourage reacted on the life of the people in general. Literature, specially poetry, was patronised by the Sulṭān; and in this respect little discrimination was shown between Persian, Telugu and Dakhnī. It was perhaps due to the rather loose morals of the Court that an impetus was given to the writing of uninhibited poetry as also to the vivid nature studies which we find in the writings of the Sulṭān as well as of other writers like Wajhī. The unreserved frankness of Muḥammad-Qulī in the description of his amours is strangely mellowed by his religiosity and his faith in the Shī'ah doctrine which is visible in practically all his compositions, whether religious or profane.

It may thus be said that the whole outlook of the State as centred in the person of the Sulṭān was non-communal, and if the epithet may be used without any intention of anachronism, it was also national. The dress of the people, the music and dance which was patronised, the *camaraderie* which was visible in all sections of the population, the confidence which the Hindus and Muslims had in each other, producing a sence of unity in the face of a common danger—all this must have been inspired by the spirit of harmony shown by the Court of Haidarabad, and which not merely continued but increased during the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī's two successors, 'Abdu'l-lāh and Abu'l-Ḥasan.

APPENDIXES

Appendix I

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF FEBRUARY — MARCH 1596*

[This interesting conference was held between the representatives of Akbar's son Murād and the envoys of Ahmadnagar. It began its first session on 29-2-1596, and after meeting for a few days it broke up only to be resumed on 16-3-1596, and the treaty was finally signed the same day. These proceedings have been recorded by Syed 'Alī Tabātāba in his classical work *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, and show the standard achieved by inter-state relations in the Deccan in the last decade of the sixteenth century. The account may be read with advantage in continuation of the present writer's note on 'Inter-Statal Usage and Rules of Conduct in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh', *J.I.H.*, April 1962, pp. 121-28. The following is a free rendering of pages 625-32 of the *Burhān*, from which much of the bombast and all poetry have been eliminated. The main heading has been retained more or less in its original form, but a number of sub-headings have been added for the sake of clarity.]

Account of the Peace Conference and the Treaty between Her Highness Chānd Bībī Sulṭān, daughter of Ḥusain Nizām Shah, and Prince Murād

THE ANTECEDENTS

It has already been pointed out that His Majesty Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh had sent about 30,000 well-trained horsemen by way of help to His Majesty Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and about 10,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry to the Bilqīs of the Age, Chānd Bībī Sulṭān. This had caused a feeling of self-probe on the part of the Nizāmshāhī army, with the result that nearly seventy or eighty thousand horse, with elephants and artillery, were mustered at the Bijapur frontier and from there they moved on to Aḥmadnagar.

The siege of Aḥmadnagar (by the Mughal army under the

* See Chapter 7, note 37.

command of Khān-i Khānān and Prince Murād) was long-drawn out, and those within were suffering from lack of provisions and general economic shortage. Her Highness the Bilqīs of the Age wrote to the Commanders of the Army of the Deccan (Bijapur) informing them of the strength of the enemy and the pitiable condition of the inmates of the citadel. It so happened that the courier who was carrying these letters was captured by the Mughals and the letters were brought to the notice of Khān-i Khānān and Sādiq Muḥammad Khān. The Commanders of the Mughal army themselves wrote a letter to Suhail Khān, the Commander of the 'Ādilshāhī troops saying that it was better that he should try and put a speedy end to this unfortunate struggle and an aggrement be reached on all outstanding questions as soon as possible. When this letter reached Suhail Khān, he ordered the beating of drums, and the march of the 'Ādilshāhī army to Aḥmadnagar began.

The Mughal army had already become hopeless of the conquest of the fort of Aḥmadnagar, and when they heard that the army of Bijapur was moving towards them they became so much over-powered with fear that they lost all their bearings and even their sense of dignity. A Council of War was held, and after considerable thought it was decided that as the army of the Deccan had made up their mind to wage a sanguinary war and as it was impossible to conquer the citadel, it would be better to raise the siege. But then the question of prestige cropped up. The leaders of the Mughal army thought that if an excuse was found and the possibility of ending the struggle was made known to those defending the citadel, they might be able to withdraw without loss of face.

THE PRELIMINARIES

It was for the purpose of exploring the possibility of negotiations that the Mughal Command appointed Syed Murtazā, who had been brought up initially at the Nizāmshāhī Court, to contact the defenders. Prince Murād and the Mughal Commanders wrote to the Nizāmshāhī ministers that it was time that the possibilities of peace and the withdrawal of the Prince and the Mughal forces be surveyed. Although those within the citadel were faced with the practical end of their resources, and their economy had reached

its lowest depths, they gathered from this letter that the enemy had also reached the limit of endurance. They were therefore again filled with hopes of victory. A reply was sent to the Mughal camp that if a *chargé d'affaires* (*mu'tabar*) were to be sent to His Majesty to begin negotiations for peace, he would be followed by an envoy who would be sent to the Mughal camp to complete and finalise peace terms. Syed Murtazā thereupon sent Mīr Hāshim Madanī, who was the *bakhshi* or paymaster of the army and was well-known for his commonsense and wisdom, to wait upon His Majesty. He was in the fort for ten days and was not allowed to return to the Mughal camp. There were all kinds of rumours rife in the camp, and this nervousness persisted till Afzal Khān Qummī arrived with a large number of presents for Prince Murād, Khān-i Khānān, Shāhbāz Khān and Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān. Simultaneously Chānd Bībī Sultān granted the title of Changīz Khān to Afzāl Khān, made him the Pēshwa of the Deccan and ordered him to lead the delegation to the Peace Conference. On his side Prince Murād appointed Mīr Muḥammad Zamān Razavī Mashhadī to enter into negotiations with the Nizāmshahi delegation.

ARRIVAL OF THE AHMADNAGAR DELEGATION

On 10-7-1004/29-2-1596 Chānd Bībī Sulṭān ordered that her envoys should leave the citadel and proceed to the Mughal Camp. When the news reached Prince Murād that the envoys were coming, he ordered that they should be accommodated in Syed Murtazā's camp, and when summoned they should be presented by him. The Prince also called Khān-i Khānān, Shāhbāz Khān, Rājā 'Alī Khān, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān and other amīrs to his presence in order to meet the Aḥmadnagar delegation. While they were waiting at the Court, summons reached the Aḥmadnagar envoys to attend. Syed Murtazā thereupon took with him the members of the delegation, Changīz Khān, Mīr Muḥammad Zamān Mashhadi and Shāh Bahrām Astrābādi to the camp of the Prince. After the embassy (*ḥijāb*) had offered the usual obeisances to Prince Murād, the Prince and Khān-i Khānān asked the envoys to come closer and enquired the reason why the conflict had broken out between the parties and about the object of their mission. The Prince

also expressed his desire for, lasting peace. Changīz Khān replied in suitable terms. The prince greatly admired the sedate and serious demeanour of the delegation. He ordered that robes of honour and Arab steeds be distributed to its members, and commanded Khān-i Khānān to proceed with the talks.

THE CONFERENCE — FIRST PHASE

The next day Khān-i Khānān, Shāhbāz Khān and Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān invited Chānd Bībī Sulṭān's envoys to their camp and received them at the gate. Khān-i Khānān then addressed Changīz Khān and informed him that he had been appointed a *Panj Hazārī* and given the option to choose any part of the Deccan as his jāgīr. He then asked him to be quite at ease and express his candid view as to the way in which the citadel should be handed over to the Mughal forces. To this the head of the Aḥmadnagar delegation replied that it was utterly impossible that the citadel should change hands without a grim struggle and fighting even if the resources and provisions of the besieged reached the lowest depth. "And we should like to inform you that we have provisions, arms, ammunitions and gunpowder which would last for another ten years. Moreover, thousands of our soldiers, who have eaten the salt of their master the king, are ready to fight till the last drop of blood flows in their veins, and they would never agree to lay down their arms and let you take possession of the fort."

When the Commanders of Akbar's army saw that their talk or the magic of their words had not produced any effect, they became hopeless of occupying the fort without further struggle, and now they changed their entire approach. They said: "When Burhān Nizām Shāh was returning to the Deccan from the Imperial Court to claim his patrimony, he solemnly made a present of the State of Berar to His Imperial Majesty, which made the territory in question a part and parcel of the Imperial dominions. It is therefore incumbent on the Nizāmshāhī authorities to vacate the possession of Berar in favour of the Emperor. Moreover, when the Prince (Murād) has come to the Deccan in person it is only right and proper that the whole of the State should be regarded as being a part of his territory. Under these circumstances it is advisable that Daulatābād, including its suburbs and the country surrounding

the Fort should also be ceded to the Empire. When this is done we would gladly advise the Prince to withdraw from the ramparts of Aḥmadnagar, and then the rest of the Niẓāmshāhī kingdom would be released in favour of Bahādur Shāh, and the Imperial army would ever be at his beck and call to crush his enemies."

To this Changīz Khān replied: "Gentlemen, it is beyond the power even of the king who sits on our throne to accept such conditions. Berar is still occupied by the royal army, and it would be necessary to send an order there for its vacation. As for Daulatābād, any claim to it by you would cause increased tension and a grim struggle would follow. The inhabitants of the province are always prone to insubordination and revolt, and would under no circumstances accept orders even from Chānd Bībī Sulṭān or the amīrs of the Deccan. If you insist on the cession of Daulatābād, then the whole object of this conference would be stultified. Gentlemen, may I ask you which army of the Deccan has been subdued by you, that you want to occupy the province of Daulatābād ? No doubt luck was with you that rifts appeared in our political structure and vast tracts of our country were vacated by our army. I tell you that if ten thousand horsemen were to come in your way you would not be able to recross the border; and now one lakh of brave soldiers are coming to take revenge for your past deeds and are only eight farsakh from this place. You should fight them first, and it is only when you have come out victorious that you should talk of any transfer of territory."

When Changīz Khān had finished his oration, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān lost his temper and shouted: "What nonsense are you talking ? You have put a woman in charge of your affairs, and she is expecting help from a eunuch ! Our leader is no less a person than the son of the Emperor 'Jalālu'd-Dīn Akbar Shāh to whom homage is paid by a number of kings and princes. You seem to think that the crows and kites of the Deccan who, like ants and locusts, are sitting on some spiders, are able to claim equality with the grandson of Amīr Tīmūr, and with eminent nobles like Khān-i Khānān and Shahbāz Khān, every one of whom has conquered territories equal to ten Berars! We have torn this fort to bits and made a leaven of the rest, and we shall raze it to the ground in three days time. The delay in the completion of our

conquest has been due mainly to our sense of mercy as we do not want that so many innocent lives should be lost by our precipitate effort."

To this Changīz Khān replied: "Sir, we have been eating the salt of the kings of the Deccan for forty years, and when we left our homes to defend this fort we had, in a way, left all regard for our lives, our property and even our children. At present, when we have girded our loins, we have made up our minds to taste the glory of martyrdom. Gentlemen, no one can escape death; and what a fine death it would be if one dies in the service of one's master and lord and thus earn everlasting praise! We have been told that the Emperor Akbar has claimed divinity in his person; and now we see his amīrs also in the role of prophethood. It appears that you have been divinely inspired that this country will be conquered by you and that this fort will fall within three days. But you must remember that no one can interfere in Divine programmes. It is quite possible that, according to the Qur'ānic verse, 'May be that a small group overpowers a larger group by Divine Command', you may have to retrace your steps. You might be told that the people of this land have shown, and still show, a feeling of enmity for the gharībs (men of foreign extraction); but I am myself a gharīb, and am as loyal to His Majesty as anyone can be. I feel that it would be well if the great Mughal commanders were to take His Imperial Highness as far as possible away from the fort lest some harm come to him which might prove incurable. The valiant army which is defending the citadel is full of the greatest energy. Our soldiers have a firm belief that if they are killed they would die a martyr's death, while if they win they would rank as heroes; so how is it possible that they should bow their heads before you? The army of the Deccan would soon be here, and then will dawn the day of anxiety and trepidation for you, and you will not only be faced with a host of difficulties but also become the targets of His Imperial Majesty's ire. I would request you to report what I have said, to His Majesty."

Another member of the delegation, Mīr Muḥammad Zamān Mashhadi, also spoke words of great seriousness and import without showing the least nervousness, and his speech left much anxious thought in the minds of the Mughal commanders.

SUSPENSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

At this stage negotiations and *pourparlers* were suspended for the time being, while news was continuously reaching the ears of the Mughal commanders that the Army of the Deccan was fast approaching. Mughal intelligence also brought the news that seventy or eighty thousand horsemen, with elephants and a field of artillery were approaching Ahmadnagar by forced marches. On learning this, the Mughals gave up their fruitless demands and thought it advisable to be content with the province of Berar and make approaches on that basis.

THE CONFERENCE — SECOND PHASE

On the 23rd of Rajab, fighting ceased and negotiations were resumed. Within the citadel itself provisions and resources were fast coming to an end and the condition of the besieged was becoming more and more precarious. While Changīz Khān was still in the Mughal camp he was receiving letter after letter from those within the fort that he should contrive to sign the treaty as soon as possible as the fort could not be held much longer. He was also told that, as many of the defenders had lost all energy and patience, they intended to throw themselves from the ramparts on the mercy of the Mughals. It was with this background that Syed Murtazā and Qāzi Ḥasan were deputed to re-open the negotiations. They first went to His Majesty for briefing and were told that it was best to agree to the cession of Berar. The Conference was resumed and agreement soon reached.

On Tuesday (it was really Friday), 26th Rajab, 1004, Muḥammad Khān and other members of the delegation left the citadel for the Mughal camp and were received by His Imperial Highness. After paying respectful compliments and making proper obeisances they were asked to be seated in greater proximity to the Prince than all the amīrs and Khāns present, and were awarded Arab steed and robes of honour according to their respective status. Estrangement gave place to accord, quarrels to harmony and war to peace. The treaty was now finalised, and with the confirmation of its articles (by the Prince) the whole atmosphere was changed. During the night preceding the 27th of Rajab the Mughal forces left Aḥmadnagar.

On the completion of their mission the Aḥmadnagar delegation repaired to the palace of the Bilqīs of the Age, Chānd Bībī Sulṭān, in order to pay their respects to Her Royal Highness and were bestowed signal honours by her.

The besieged now heaved a sigh of relief. They came out of the citadel and began to purchase the stocks collected by the Mughal army. In two or three days' time they were able to collect provisions to the extent that in case Aḥmadnagar was attacked again they would be able to face the enemy with considerable equanimity. From Aḥmadnagar the Mughal army headed for Daulatābād *en route* for Berar.

Appendix II

THE BHAGMATI LEGEND*

The Story

THERE IS a problem in connection with the founding of the City of Haidarabad which has so far remained unsolved. Its importance is due not so much to its intrinsic merit as to its persistence since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The problem is whether there was a certain *démi-mondaine* named Bhāgmatī living at the village Chichlam near the northern bank of the river Mūsī and whether the new capital was ever called Bhāgnagar after her.

Before examining the question, it would be well to enumerate some of the episodes connected with Bhāgmatī which have been handed down to us. Probably the first time the names of the woman as well as of the city named after her, are found, is in a certain petition which is supposed to have been sent by Abu'l-Fazl's brother Faizī, the Imperial Resident at Burhānpūr and Aḥmadnagar, to the Emperor Akbar. This petition is included in the collections of letters entitled variously as *Inshā-i Faizī* ("Faizī's Diction"), *Tabāshiru's-Subḥ* ("Early Dawn") and *Latīfa-ī Faizī* ("Faizī's Witticism"). The particular pētition with which we are concerned is not dated but it must have been written sometime between 999/1591 and 1002/1594 when Faizī was the Imperial Resident in the Deccan. It has just these words about the Quṭb-shāhī Sultān:

> "Aḥmad Qulī (*sic*) is steeped in Shī'ism, and has built a city Bhāgnagar by name, after Bhāgmatī, the old prostitute (*faḥisha-i kuhnā*) who has been his mistress for a long time (*ma'shūqa-i qadim*)".[1]

* See Chapter 2, note 34, and Chapter 4, note 19.

[1] The references in this paper are from *Tabashiru's-Subh* in the Salar Jang Library, MSS., Nathr Farsi, 31. It may be mentioned that the particular sentence quoted here is not found in the Asafiya manuscript. Insha-i Farsi, 80, which was written down at Ahmadnagar and completed on the 4th of Muharram in the fiftieth year of Akbar's reign. The book is called *Waki'at-i Shaikh Faizi* in *E. and D.*, VI, p. 147. See also n. 7 below, also Chapter 7, note 10.

The thread was taken up by another panegyrist of the Imperial Court, Nizāmu'd-dīn Bakhshī, who completed his chronicle, the *Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhī*, about the same time (1002/1594). Nizāmu'd-din has just a few lines about Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. All he knows about the Sultān is:

> "Muḥammad 'Alī (*sic*) Quṭbu'l-Mulk, son of Ibrāhīm, succeeded his father. He became so enamoured of a Hindu prostitute (*pātarē*) Bhāmgasi (*sic*) by name that he founded a city which he called Bhāgnagar after her and ordered that one thousand horsemen should always accompany the whore (*faḥishā*). He has been on the throne of the kingdom for nine years now, which is 1002 years after the hijra."[2]

The only contemporary chronicler who wrote in the Deccan and who mentions Bhāgmatī and Bhāgnagar is Ferishta. Writing in 1018 he says:

> "The Sulṭān was greatly fascinated by a prostitute (*fāhishā*) named Bhāgmatī. He ordered that whenever she came to the court she should not look one whit inferior to any of the great nobles. About this time, the climate of Golkonda had become so bad that it had been telling on the health of its inhabitants, and it was for this reason that Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh founded and populated a city four kroh away which became unequalled throughout the length and breadth of India for its planning as well as for its cleanliness. He called it Bhāgnagar at first but later he was sorry for what he had done and changed the name to Haidarabad."[3]

There are two Mughal historians to which a reference might be made here. The first is 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandi who wrote his voluminous panegyric of 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i Khānān, the *Ma'athir-i Raḥīmī* in 1025; and the other is Khāfī Khān who compiled his book the *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb* after the conquest of the Deccan by Aurangzeb. Both of them say in so many words that they have relied on Ferishta so far as the history of the Deccan

[2] Nizamu'd-din, *Tabaqat-i Akbar Shahi*, p. 444.
[3] *Fer.*, II, 173.

is concerned, and so they cannot be regarded as having the value of an independent authority.[4]

Let us subject these authors to a critical analysis before we proceed to a further discussion of the problem. The first name in the lists is that of Faizī. He never set his foot beyond Ahmadnagar, and had further an inherent dislike and even disdain for the three remaining kingdoms of the Deccan, namely Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Tilang-Andhra (Golkonda). He was appointed Imperial Resident at Burhānpūr, the capital of the Fārūqi rulers of Khāndēsh, with the avowed object of extending the Imperial sway over the whole of peninsular India. In fact, in unison with other Mughal historians he does not recognise these kingdoms as independent states at all, and calls their rulers simply 'Nizāmu'l-mulk', 'Ādil Khān' and 'Quṭbu'l-mulk' without royal titles, and their kingdoms as merely jāgīrs.[5] The only Deccani ruler for whom he has a word of praise is Burhān of Ahmadnagar who had been sent by Akbar to reconquer the kingdom of his ancestors as an Imperial *protégé* and who, according to Faizī "was lifted up from the very dust and considers himself as having been brought up ("parwardah") by His Majesty".[6] The solitary sentence Faizī has written concerning Muḥammad-Qulī is full of sneers and taunts. 'Steeped in Shī'ism', 'the old prostitute', 'mistress for a long time' are just verbal darts thrown on the Sulṭān in quick succession, all the time knowing fully well that he would not have any opportunity to retort. The social habits of the Sulṭān as well as his poems (which have been published) show us that he was not a man of particularly sober habits and was prone to be self-indulgent both in wine and women. He was, however, a man of some fine qualities. He was a wise judge of men, was a great builder, a man of culture and of

[4] See *Ma'athir-i Rahimi*, I, p. 16 and *Munt.*, III, p. 2, where the respective authors express their indebtedness to Ferishta so far as the history of the states of the Deccan is concerned.

[5] *Tabashiru's Subh*, p. 31.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 27. Here it should be mentioned that another quasi-Deccani ruler praised by Faizi is Raja 'Ali Khan of Khandesh. He is applauded by the Resident for having "walked a long distance on foot as he approached the Imperial camp and began to bow before and salute the (empty) Imperial throne placed in the centre". Addressing Akbar, Faizi says that "when Your Majesty's farman was read out he (Raja 'Ali Khan) kept standing all the time with great respect". See also Chapter 7, note 10, above.

scholarly temperament. But all these great qualities of head and heart have been overlooked and just one aspect of his character has been brought out—his *liaison* with a certain prostitute whose name does not figure among his amours as described in his own poems. Even if we consider the collection of Faizī's letters and petitions as authentic they are definite that he never came nearer Haidarabad than Aḥmadnagar, and whatever he has written about it, is from hearsay. The strong and versatile pen of Faizī has by its verbal jugglery, created a legend which has been glossed over by those who followed him, and however weak and even impossible it may be from the historical point of view, it forms the core of a story which still persists in spite of the very obvious lacunae.[7]

The author of the *Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhī* was the first to gloss over it by adding on the episode of a thousand horsemen. The legend is the only supposed fact of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh of which he is aware, although the Sulṭān ruled over Tilangana and Andhra for more than thirty years. Even in the four or five lines which he has written about the Sulṭān, he has made the chronological mistake of post-dating the reign by five years—993 in lieu of 988. Nizamu'd-dīn has thus added another item to the story and thus led the way to future romancists.

We now come to Ferishta, who completed his history of the Deccani states in 1018/1609. His monumental chronicle, the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, has very little to say about the history of medieval Tilang, and he prefaces this account with a brief description of his own shortcomings in this connection, a sense of modesty rare in medieval chroniclers. He says:

[7] In *E. and D.*, VII, p. 147, Professor Dowson prefaces Lt. Pritchard's translation of the passage of Faizi's petition to Akbar, which, incidentally, has a reference to Bhagmati:

> "But for the great name of the writer, this little work would scarcely deserve notice. It consists of a series of letters written to the Emperor by Shaikh Faizi while he was absent on his embassy to the Dakhin, in the *thirty-sixth* year of the reign.... The letters are of a gossiping familiar character, and are embellished with plenty of verses, but they contain nothing of importance.... All these letters were translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lieut. Pritchard, and it is to be regretted that they were not more worthy of the labour bestowed upon them.
>
> Faizi cannot be considered a historian, so a memoir of his life would be out of place in this work".

"It is well known to those with a knowledge of the mysteries of the universe that one Shāh Khūrshāh came from 'Iraq during the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and compiled a history of the kingdom in which he included everything great and small about the history of the dynasty. But this work was not before the author of these pages when he wrote them down, and he had to be satisfied with only a short account of the great House."[8]

Not having a first hand knowledge of the annals of the Quṭbshāhis Ferishta has made some serious mistakes in recording the events of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī which have marred the veracity of his narrative. We may here mention some of these: (1) He says that Muḥammad-Qulī ascended the throne at the age of 12 in 989. (2) Writing in 1018 he says that the Persian ambassador Aghuzlū Sulṭān was still in the Deccan waiting for the acceptance of the proposal of the marriage of the son of Shāh 'Abbās II of Persia with the Sulṭān's daughter Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam, although her marriage with the Sulṭān's nephew, who later became Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, had already taken place in 1016 in the presence of the envoy himself. (3) Ferishta is so much interested in the Bhāgmatī romance that he calls the capital of the Quṭbshāhīs Bhāgnagar even in 1018/1609 although, as will be seen later, we have a number of coins struck at the *Haidarabad* mint in 1012/1603. (4) Ferishta forgets his own theory when as early as 1005/1597 he says that the Quṭbshāhī army which had been sent to help the Nizāmshahis, fled to *Haidarabad* after their defeat at the hands of the Mughals.[9]

'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī is so ignorant even of the supposed background of the Bhāgmatī story that he considers Bhāgnagar and Haidarabad to be two distinct cities and mixes up Golkonda with Bhāgnagar. He says:

[8] Date of writing the history of the Deccani kingdoms, *Fer.*, II, 177; introductory remarks about the history of the Qutbshahs, II, 167.

[9] Muhammad-Quli's age at the time of his accession: 12 according to *Fer.*, II, 172; 14 according to *Q.S.*, 182, where it is stated that he was born on 1-9-973/23-3-1566. *Fer.*, II, 172, says that Muhammad-Quli was the eldest son of his father, while *Q.S.*, 288 says that he was the third son. Hayat Bakhshi Begam's marriage, *Q.S.*, 288. The name, *Haidarabad*, in 1005, *Fer.*, II, 163.

> "Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb'l-mulk, son of Ibrāhīm Quṭbu'l-mulk succeeded his father and became so much enamoured of the woman, Bhāgmatī, that he founded a city which he called Bhāgnagar and ordered one thousand horsemen to serve her.... Towards the end of his reign he founded another city, Haidarabad through the efforts of Muḥammad Mu'min, one of the prominent Syeds of the city of Isfahān who held the office of Mīr Jumlā, and when the buildings were ready in the new capital he shifted his court thither and made it his capital."[10]

Moreover he is so ignorant of what was happening in the capital of Tilang that he makes Muḥammad Amīn, the brother of Muḥammad-Qulī, to succeed him, although in point of fact, it was Sulṭān Muḥammad, his nephew and son-in-law who became Sulṭān after his death.

Historical Appraisal

This is so far as contemporary or near contemporary sources of the legend are concerned. Coming to objective evidence, which incidentally goes directly against it, the first is that contained in the semi-official chronicle of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty called *Tārīkh Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.* The chronicle was completed during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, in 1017/1608. There is not an allusion to Bhāgmatī or Bhāgnagar in this work at all. It contains a description of the new capital, its planning on the gridiron system, its beautiful 'centre-piece' Chārminār with its symmetrical arches which are still the pride of the city, its fourteen thousand new shops, vast squares, hospitals, mosques and other amenities of civic life; yet it is completely silent about Bhāgmatī and Bhāgnagar.[11] A few years later, in 1054/1644 Mirzā Nizāmu'd-din Aḥmad Sa'īdī wrote the *Hadīqatu's-Salāṭīn* which gives, *inter alia*, a description of the city, but he also calls the new capital Haidarabad all along.[12] Forty-eight years later 'Alī b. Taifūr

[10] *Ma'athir-i Rahimi*, II, 41; Muhammad Amin's supposed accession, *ibid.*, 412. Mir Mu'min came from Astrabad, not from Isfahan.

[11] *Q.S.*, pp. 249-53.

[12] *Hadiqatu's-Salatin* was compiled in the reign of 'Abdu'llah Qutb Shah; it has been ably edited by S. 'Ali Asghar Bilgrami; the first part was published in 1350 H., while the whole came out in 1961. References to the buildings of the city are interspersed throughout the book.

Bustāmī wrote his *Hadā'iqu's-Salāṭīn* in 1092/1681 and he has also given a short history of the founding of the new capital; but he does not so much as mention Bhāgmatī or Bhāgnagar.[13]

It is sometimes said that the Bhāgmatī episode was consciously suppressed by the pēshwā, Mīr Mu'mīn. But this is not understandable as it is accepted by all that it was Mīr Mu'min himself who had prepared the plans for the building of the new city and his influence over the court was very great even before the plans were prepared. If he was averse to the city being named after a mere prostitute why was it necessary for him to wait for a change of names for two decades ?

Then we have the direct evidence contained in the Kullīyāt of the Sulṭān himself. One of the characteristics of the Sulṭān's poetry is its candidness and utter lack of reserve. Whatever he touches he lays it open threadbare, whether it is natural scenery in which he excels, scenes in the bazar, description of his palaces, his own drinking bouts, his religious propensities, his amours, the transparency of the dress of his mistresses, their baths, their physiognomy or many other matters which are generally left unsaid. He gives us a list of seventeen of his mistresses by real or pet names, each of whom has odes ranging from one to five composed by the Sulṭān. And yet there is not one ode in favour of Bhāgmatī who is supposed to have been the most favoured of all ![14] The learned

[13] *Hada'iqu's-Salatin*, MSS., Salar Jung Library, tarikh Farsi, 216, fol. 114 b. The author says that the city was founded in 1004/1595, which is probably the date of the completion of the scheme of construction. Mir Mu'min was already peshwa about 993/1585, i.e. seven years before the founding of Haidarabad. For a description of his talent and his position see Chapter 4, above, section entitled "Persian"; also Sherwani; 'The Reign of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah,' *J. P. H. S.*, July 1962.

[14] A series of pure presumptions led the learned editor to identify Bhagmati with Mushtari (Introduction, pp. 80-87), while another pure presumption led him to aver that the title Haidar Mahal "might have been given to her on the occasion of her marriage with the King". There is no material evidence to uphold any of these presumptions.

On the other hand, while beginning to relate the story of Bhagmati Dr. Zor himself says that the Sultan has not mentioned the name of the 'dancer' even once in his Kulliyat. He categorically says (Introduction, p. 80): "The Sultan has used the word *bhag* in a number of his poems, but the word has been used in all these places in its literary meaning, i.e. for 'share' or 'fortune' and this connotation fits well with the context."

Odes to Sultan's amours, *Kulliyat*, pp. 225-81.

editor of the *Kullīyāt*, however, goes to say that the original name of the girl called Ḥaidar Maḥal in the poems was Bhāgmatī, and also that she was the mother of the Sulṭān's only daughter, the famous Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam who is still affectionately called *Mān Sāhib* or 'the Revered Mother' by Haidarabadīs. But there is not an iota of evidence to support this. He has even tried to establish Bhāgmatī's grave in the mausoleum sacred to Kulthūm Bēgam among the royal tombs near Golkonda, although the only grave of a female in the mortuary chamber is that of Kulthūm herself and it has a definite inscription on the tombstone to that effect.[15]

In the same way, while the new capital is mentioned three times in the Kullīyāt not once is it called Bhāgnagar.[16] In spite of his rather loose character Muḥammad-Qulī was intensely religious insofar as the outward forms of Shī'ism were concerned, and there is hardly a single ode in his collection which does not end in an invocation to the Prophet and the fourth Khalīfah. It was only fitting for a monarch who had a Shī'ah divine of the calibre and the influence of Mīr Mu'min as his chief adviser to have named the new city Haidarabad. This view is further strengthened by a number of other facts : we know that the first public building in the new capital was the Bādshāhī 'Āshūrkhānā sacred to the Shī'ah imāms, that the beautiful mosque over the Chārmīnār has five openings after the traditional Shī'ah pattern, and that the different parts of the royal palace were named after the Prophet and the Imāms.

Numismatic evidence also points in the same direction. While there are coins in the Haidarabad Museum which were struck at the 'Dāru's-Sulṭānat, Haidarabad' in 1012/1603 there is not one coin which was struck at 'Bhāgnagar'. Not only does this shatter the theory of the new capital being named after a street woman

[15] Both these assertions are found in Dr. Zor's article in the *Sabras*, Haidarabad, of April, May, June 1958 entitled *Bhagmati aur Bhagnagar*, section 6. There is absolutely no evidence to prove that Hayat Bakhshi Begam's mother was a woman of the street named Bhagmati or Haidar Mahal. As against the assertion that Bhagmati's grave is in the mausoleum sacred to Kulthum Begum, see E.I.M., 1915-16, p. 34 and plate X b. The only other grave in the chamber is that of Kulthum's son and there is no trace of any female's grave besides that of Kulthum herself.

[16] 'My City'; *Kulliyat*, poems, page 6. 'City of Haidar', *ibid.*, Ghazals, p. 177. 'Haidarnagar', *ibid.*, Poems, p. 324. See also Chapter 6, note 5.

but it also demolishes the theory that the name Bhāgnagar was changed to Haidarabad in 1017/1608.[17] Even that protagonist of the Bhāgmati legend, Ferishta, calls the capital Haidarabad as early as 1005/1596 when he mentions the flight of the Quṭb-shāhī army 'to Haidarabad' after its defeat at the hands of the Mughals.

The names of Bhāgmatī and Bhāgnagar are non-existent in any contemporary history written in the Deccan except Ferishta. The legend was revived with the coming of the Asafjāhī dynasty, by the author of *Ḥadīqatu'l-'Ālam* in 1214/1799, but what he does is simply to place before the reader the two versions of the foundation of the new capital, one related by Ferishta and the other by *Tārīkh Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*, without any comment.[18] Eleven years later, in 1225/1810, was compiled the *Māhnāmah* by Ghulām Ḥusain Khān at the instance of the court singer Māhlaqā Bāi Chanda, and he immediately turned down the theory that the new capital was named after a courtesan. He says:

> "Khwāja Mun'īm Khān Hamdāni says in his book, the *Sawāniḥ-i Dakan* that Bhāgmati was the name of a Hindu prostitute and Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was enamoured of her.... But the whole of the story is utterly baseless."[19]

But in the period which followed the rule of Āsaf Jāh I, the founder of the dynasty which bore his name, the erotic part of the story came to have a special appeal to the chroniclers. Quite against the old adage that a rolling stone gathers no moss, much moss was gathered round the small sneering sentence of Faizī, and

[17] See Chapter 6, above; also my Urdu pamphlet, *Bhagmati ka Afsana*, appendix 2, p. 3; Hormuz Kaus, *Coins of the Qutb Shahi Kings of Golconda*, Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, May 1955, pp. 211-12; Abdul Wali Khan, *Qutub Shahi Coins*, pp. 2-21; out of 202 coins listed 50 belong to Golkonda mint, and all the remaining 152 belong to the Haidarabad mint.

[18] *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, pp. 214-19. This book, which is referred to in the present work is ascribed to Mir 'Alam, the Prime Minister of Haidarabad in the early years of the last century; but the real author is 'Abdu'l-Latif Shustari or Abu Turab; see Storey, *Persian Literature, a Bio-bibliographical Dictionary*, p. 747

[19] Mun'im Khan Hamdani, *Sawanih-i Dakan*, Salar Jang Library, No. 307, was compiled as late as 1190/1776, and is one of those publications which have simply copied down the Bhagmati legend without subjecting it to any critical analysis.

soon the sentence grew into a paragraph, the paragraph into a section, and the section into chapters at the hands of the courtesan's panegyrists. The mythical Bhāgmatī, converted to the romantic Ḥaidar Maḥal, was made the chief mistress of the Sulṭān, the mother of Hayāt Bakhshī Bēgam, was supposedly interned in a special mausoleum near Golkonda, became the primary motive of the construction of the *Purānā Pul* as well as of the new capital and one of the most prominent *grande dames* of the period ! She was created afresh towards the end of the eighteenth century and became a mere tradition with little historical evidence to support it.[20]

Lastly, to the present author's knowledge, no contemporary Telugu work contains the names either of Bhāgmatī or of Bhāgnagar. An interesting palm leaf Sanskrit manuscript in Telugu characters has recently been brought to light by Dr. Rama Raju of the Telugu department of the Osmania University. The manuscript which belongs to the University Sanskrit Academy, is by Sarangu Tamayya, the author of the Telugu work, *Vaijanti Vilāsamū*. We know that Tamayya was the *karnam* of Golkonda which was also his home, but in the manuscript he calls himself a resident of 'Bhāgīratīpaṭṭanam'. Even in the manuscript the name, Bhāgnagar is not mentioned.[21]

[20] Bhagmati is even equated with Mushtari, the heroine of Wajhi's purely imaginary romance, *Qutb-Mushtari*. As has already been discussed in Chapter 3, the romance has neither historical nor realistic value except that the story has been woven round the dynastic title of the Sultan, i.e. Qutb or the Pole-star. See especially, Chapter 3, n. 19.

But even the learned editor of the *Kulliyat* is not sure of the veracity of the whole story, for on p. 58 of the book he prefaces his remarks with the epithet, "If the story of Bhagmati is correct" referring to a certain episode ascribed to the supposed courtesan.

[21] *Shanti* (*Sahitya Sankalanamu*, Commemoration Volume of Sm. Adi Lakshmamma of Guntur), 1961; Rama Raju; *Sarangu Tamayya Guruvana Bhasaseva*, at pp. 670-71. The *Mahanamah* rejects the Bhagmati story outright when it was at the height of its popularity; see n. 19, above. For *Vaijayanti Vilasamu*, see Chapter 4, above. *Bhagiratipattanam* may have reference to the reputed wife of Ibrahim Qutb Shah who is said to have married a woman named Bhagirati while he was in exile at Vijayanagar; for this see Chapter 1, above.

The Solution

In spite of all this, it must be confessed that the European travellers who came to the Deccan in the seventeenth century have certainly mentioned 'Bāgnagar' as the capital of the kingdom. François Bernier who visited Haidarabad in 1667 speaks of 'Bāgnagar' twice.[22] In the same way Thèvenot, who was in Haidarabad a year previous to this, gives the name of Golkonda to the kingdom but says: "The capital city of this kingdom is called Bāgnagar; the Persians call it Aider-Abad". In other words, while the common people called the city 'Bagnagar', the ruling aristocracy and government officers (i.e. those who carried on their official correspondence in Persian) called it Haidarabad. We are aware that European travellers have left some very useful data about the social, cultural and even political conditions of India when they visited the country which we do not find in any of our chronicles. Thus Thèvenot has given quite a mass of detail about the manners and customs of the Indians of those days and he and Tavernier take pains to describe the highways of the Deccan and the travelling stages through which they had to pass. But while Thèvenot has furnished us with interesting details about the derivation of the word Golkonda he is quite silent regarding the derivation of the word Bagnagar although it was barely sixty-five years since the foundation of the city.[23]

If, however, we turn to Tavernier the mystery would be solved. For he says:

> "Bagnagar was founded by the grandfather of the present king. Here the king had very fair gardens.... Bagnagar or the Garden of Nagar".[24]

Tavernier thus asserts that 'Bagnagar' stands for the *City of Gardens* or *Bāghnagar* (urdu) because the new capital was replete with gardens and groves. In a way he repeats what Rafi'ud-dīn Shīrāzī had said sixty years previously, that

> "the whole city is just one large garden".[25]

[22] *Bernier*, pp. 65, 67. [23] *Thevenot*, pp. 131, 137. [24] *Tavernier*, p. 132.
[25] *Tadh.*, fol. 61 b. See also Chapter 2, note 35, above.

Evidently when the population of Golkonda was released from their over-populated city consequent on the construction of the Purānā Pul in 986/1578 and came to live in the new city with gardens and groves for miles and miles round where houses were built "in the midst of groves",[26] the common people called it *Bāghnagar* or the "City of Gardens" regardless of the official name of Haidarabad given to the city. This Bāghnagar became Bhāg-nagar and even Bhāgyanagar at the hands of the sarcastic or the romantic among *litterateurs*, and while the people forgot the real origin of the term they remembered the romantic element attached to the story.

[26] For the congestion of the capital prior to its extension beyond the Musi, see *ibid.*, fol. 60 a; groves round Haidarabad, *Q.S.*, p. 231.

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ERRATA

p. 4, line 23 : *for* "after his son" *read* "after him his son"

p. 8, footnote 7, last line : *for* "s copied" *read* "is copied"

p. 20, footnote 21, line 2 : *for* "p. 20" *read* "p. 23"

p. 30, footnote 39, line 7 : *for* "Muhammad Quli" *read* "Muhammad-Quli"

p. 38, line 12 : *for* "featur" *read* "feature"

p. 52, footnote 16, line 7 : *for* "Wahjhi" *read* "Wajhi"

p. 95, footnote 42, line 5 : *for* "treated here rather" *read* "treated rather"

p. 106, footnote 13, line 11 : *for* "battle of (Koccerlakota) was fought in S. S. 1501 (1579 A. C.)" *read* "battle (of Koccerlakota) was fought in S. S. 1501" (1579 A. C.)

p. 144, line 5 : *for* "interned" *read* "interred"

p. 145, line 30 : delete " (urdu) "

THE FIRST NIZAM

The Life and Times of Nizamu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah I

YUSUF HUSAIN

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H. K. SHERWANI

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The middle ages were a period of intense political turmoil in Europe as well as Asia, for, while the sacrosanct values of the classical epoch were being left behind, the world was in the throes of the birth pangs of the new world with its varied interests and varied methods. But culture and civilisation continued to live on, and the changes effected were gradual and well nigh imperceptible. On the political side there was revolution after revolution; frontiers changed almost overnight and there was bloodshed and even anarchy in certain parts. But the common man was hit only casually, and the farmer, the spinner, the weaver and the handicraftsman, all carried on their avocations. In India, with the influx of new elements the languages of the land were unconsciously enriched, art and architecture acquired new life by the injection of foreign elements, and there was so much give and take between the cultures of newcomers and the earlier stock that it was difficult to draw a line between the one and the other. This is, in short, the theme of the present work.

This book will prove useful to those interested in Indian historical research and study, and historians in general.

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